THE TIMES

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74th Year

26 SEPTEMBER 1975

3,837

Biography	**1076**
Classical Studies	**1074**
Crime Fiction	**1078-9**
Current Affairs	**1083**
Fiction	**1077**
History	**1082, 1086, 1106**
Literature	**1093**
Memoirs	**1084**
Poetry	**1080**
Politics	**1095**
Religion	**1107**

Criminology, Law, Penology, &c. 1087-91, 1096-1106

M. Alexander: *Charles I's Lord Treasurer* .. 1082
R. Barker: *One Man's Jungle* .. 1076
L. Blom-Cooper: *Progress in Penal Reform* .. 1099
H. Blyth: *Madeleine Smith* .. 1097
C. Borrell and B. Cashinella: *Crime in Britain Today* .. 1105
F. Bötiger: *Hermann Hesse* .. 1108
D. Briggs: *In Place of Prison* .. 1105
J. Brough: *The Prince and the Lily* 1085
C. Causley: *Collected Poems* .. 1080
H. Cecil: *Just Within the Law* .. 1096
W. Clifford: *An Introduction to African Criminology* .. 1101
T. Cook: *Vagrant Alcoholics* .. 1102
J. M. Crook: *History of the King's Works* .. 1109
L. Farago: *Aftermath* .. 1106
R. Farr: *The Electronic Criminals* 1096
M. Foucault: *Surveiller et punir* .. 1090
M. L. Friedland (Editor): *Courts and Trials* .. 1101
Y. Garlan: *War in the Ancient World* .. 1075
L. C. Green: *Law and Society* .. 1101
B. A. Grosman: *Police Command: Decisions and Discretion* .. 1098
M. Gurewitch: *Comedy* .. 1093
J. E. Hall Williams: *Changing Prisons* .. 1105
R. Harrison: *Rose* .. 1084
P. Hart (Editor): *Thomas Merton, Monk* .. 1107
R. L. Henshel and R. A. Silverman (Editors): *Perception in Criminology* .. 1100
A. Holden: *The St Albans Poisoner* 1104
S. Holland: *The Socialist Challenge* 1095
A. Hsia: *Hermann Hesse and China* 1108
P. W. Keve: *Prison Life and Human Worth* .. 1100
D. E. J. MacNamara and M. Riedel (Editors): *Police: Perspectives, Problems, Prospects* .. 1102
N. Morris: *The Future of Imprisonment* .. 1091
P. Morris and F. Beverly: *On Licence: A Study of Parole* .. 1100
G. L. Mosse (Editor): *Police Forces in History* .. 1106
R. Odell: *Exhumation of a Murder* 1097
Police Federation Occasional Papers: *In Service Training* .. 1102
S. B. Pomeroy: *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* .. 1074
A. Rodway: *English Comedy* .. 1093
A. Sampson: *The Seven Sisters* .. 1083
G. J. Schochet: *Patriarchalism in Political Thought* .. 1082
R. Selby: *The Principle of Reserve in the Writings of John Henry Cardinal Newman* .. 1107
P. Southerton: *The Story of a Prison* 1105
P. Steadman: *Energy, Environment and Building* .. 1109
J. Stevenson and R. Quinault (Editors): *Popular Protest and Public Order* .. 1095
J. Trim: *English Pronunciation Illustrated* .. 1092
S. Unseld: *Begegnungen mit Hermann Hesse* .. 1108
E. Vallance (Editor): *The State, Society and Self-Destruction* .. 1099
J. Wain: *Feng* .. 1080
R. Wallis (Editor): *Sectarianism* .. 1107
R. Whittington-Egan: *The Riddle of Birdhurst Rise* .. 1097

FICTION

S. Brett: *Cast, in Order of Disappearance* .. 1079
A. Christie: *Curtain* .. 1078
C. Dexter: *Last Bus to Woodstock* 1079
M. Drabble: *Realms of Gold* .. 1077
T. A. Dunn (Editor): *Scottish Short Stories 1975* .. 1077
N. Freeling: *What are the Bugles Blowing for?* .. 1078
S. George: *Acid Drop* .. 1079
C. Hill: *Jackdaw* .. 1079
J. Hone: *The Sixth Directorate* .. 1078
A. E. Lindop: *The Self-Appointed Saint* .. 1079
D. Martin: *The Task* .. 1077
B. Meggs: *Saturday Games* .. 1079
F. Norman: *Down and Out in High Society* .. 1077
B. Roueché: *The Cats* .. 1079
M. Sjöwall and P. Wahlöö: *Cop Killer* .. 1079

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ...

T·L·S

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY • 17 OCTOBER 1975 • No 3,840 • 15p

AFRICA PAST AND PRESENT

Ten pages of reviews

A chameleon "shetani" (spirit) in hardwood by the Makonde sculptor Hossein Anangangola, who was born in Mozambique about thirty-six years ago, and migrated to Dar es Salaam in the 1960s. The carving appears in Modern Makonde Art *by Jörn Korn, photographs by Jesper Kirknaes (Hamlyn, £2.50).*

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Roland Oliver, C. D. Darlington, T. O. Ranger, Molly M. Mahood, William Tordoff, Kenneth Little, Anthony Delius, J. D. Fage

'Cannibals and Tongo Players'

Westminster–the road to 1945

Leavis and the philosophers

Manxmen, by Frank Kermode

The American working class

Max Miller as folk-hero

Fiction: Brian Moore, Martin Amis, Stanley Middleton

Samuel Beckett, Irish eccentrics, Landlords of County Cork

Westminster at war

By Kenneth O. Morgan

War has become too serious a business to be left to the military historians. Particularly in the twentieth century—the era of peoples' wars rather than simply clashes between military machines—the significance of total war in promoting long-term political and social change has been increasingly recognized. Instead of wars being regarded, as they were for centuries, merely as destructive calamities like the Black Death or Aberfan, they now are seen as the mainspring of progressive, constructive innovation. In particular, the impact of the two world wars on the shaping of the modern British political and social structure has been of crucial importance.

Yet hitherto, the treatment of the First and Second World Wars by historians has been markedly different. The politics of the First World War has been subjected to the most minute investigation. The formation of Asquith's coalition in May 1915, the triumph of Lloyd George in December 1916, the background to the Maurice Debate or the "coupon election" in 1918 have all been examined with the pedantic precision of the medieval schoolmen. In particular, the events which led to Asquith's being overthrown by Lloyd George as premier have been dissected on a daily, or even an hourly basis. Harold Wilson once remarked that a week in politics is a long time. Some may now feel that the week of December 1 to 7, 1916, has become a veritable eternity. In sharp contrast to all this, the political upheavals of the Second World War have awaited their historian. The precise impact upon Conservatism of the downfall of Neville Chamberlain in May 1940, the emergence of Labour in its new national guise during the wartime years, the wider changes in political and social ideas which indirectly influenced their political parties have yet to be examined in depth. Only Henry Pelling's *Britain and the Second World War*, an admirable survey which deserves a wider readership, has attempted to do so. The result has been that basic features of the evolution of British politics between 1939 and 1945 have been veiled in mystery, a state of affairs faithfully assisted by the Cabinet Office, until the releasing of the public records relevant for this period in 1972.

The comparative lack of scholarly attention to the politics of the Second World War, in such contrast to the plethora of works dealing with 1914-18, has led to major distortions. For in reality, much of the effect of the First World War upon British society was relatively transient. Writers over-impressed by the downfall of the Liberal Party (and associating this with the decline of liberal values) have made too much of their theme. The new collectivism and social experiments of 1914-18 did not long survive the general election of 1918. Some of them were the creations of such fleeting prophets as Milner and his "kindergarten" of social imperialists. More were scrapped with the onset of "decontrol" in 1919-20 and the fall of the Geddes Axe that followed it. Radical ministers who tried to salvage some of the reforming zeal of the war years—notably men like Christopher Addison and Edward Montagu—were swept into oblivion. By the later 1920s British leaders were bent on a restoration of the "normalcy" of pre-war, and on the mood of "safety first", to which the Conservative and Labour parties, in their different styles, paid homage. By contrast, the impact of the Second World War on British social change was far reaching. By 1945, the whole agenda of British social policy had been redrafted. Keynesian budgetary techniques, a new framework for social insurance, family allowances, a national health service, policies for full employment, schemes for urban planning, the 1944 Education Act were all products of the wartime years. The "guilty men" of the 1930s were now arraigned, not only for the wanton appeasement of dictators overseas, but for the deprivation and inequalities that marred British society at home. Hence, while the First World War culminated in the nostalgic jingoism of the coupon election, the second led to the massive Labour landslide of 1945. The Second World War, far more than the First, was vital in the making of modern Britain.

PAUL ADDISON:

The Road to 1945
British Politics and the Second World War

334pp and 16 illustrations. Cape. £6.50.

The mechanics of this process have hitherto remained obscure. The social changes of the war years have usually been interpreted with the aid of a variety of familiar clichés. The impact of the evacuees, the "fair shares" ethos of food rationing, indoctrination by the army's current affairs discussion groups are assumed, in some vague way, to have promoted a mood of constructive egalitarianism, publicized by the *Daily Mirror* and Penguin Books, and urged on by such miscellaneous mavericks as J. B. Priestley, Archbishop Temple and Sir Richard Acland's Commonwealth Party. If the crisis of 1940 has generated one set of legends, with The Few and Dad's Army preserving our shores, while the British people Dug for Victory and Kept Smiling Through, the social experiments of the war years have generated many more. But now at last the legends have been dispelled, in Paul Addison's excellent and extremely important *The Road to 1945*. With exhaustive scholarship, exemplary fairness and a crisp, incisive style, he has massively illuminated the political transformations of the war years, and their relationship to social ideas and public policy. The effects of the Second World War upon British politics and society emerge at last from prehistory into history. More precisely than ever before, Dr Addison's book defines the essence of historical change in Britain between 1939 and 1945, with a legacy that survived generally unchallenged until the economic holocaust of the 1970s. This work is, then, a landmark in the writing of contemporary history in Britain, and as such deserves wide acclaim.

Dr Addison's basic theme is the work of the wartime Churchill administration, which he reasonably claims to have been the most creative government of radical reform since that of 1906. The outcome, as he puts it, was a progressive shift leftwards in political and social attitudes, which led to Baldwin's consensus giving way to that of Attlee—and of the Butskellites that came after. Although these changes were presided over by Churchill himself, a notable survivor from 1914, the reader will note that, in general, the reforms which Dr Addison describes owed virtually nothing to the experience of the First World War. There were those who still conjured up the spirit of the Lloyd George past to urge a return to the War Cabinet system, the departmental dictators and the collectivistic controls of 1916, complete with "men of push and go". This was urged by such relics of the Great War as Waldorf Astor and J. L. Garvin in *The Observer*, and by the Welshman, Clement Davies, on the Liberal backbenches. There was also the physical Lloyd George present, still very much a part of the political scene up to the end of 1940. Some urged bringing him into the administration in some form, either into the War Cabinet as minister of food production, or later as ambassador to Washington. "He will be good for only six hours a day, but they will be six hours of pure radium", wrote Garvin. But negotiations between Churchill and Lloyd George on these matters were notably half-hearted on each side. It wasn't L.G.'s war, and there was in any case a deep vein of defeatism in him now, in extreme old age.

In any case, the entire thrust of the reforms of the Second World War, especially in the crucial phase between Dunkirk and Alamein, marked a revulsion not only against the broken pledges of 1914, but also against the policy assumptions of the inter-war years. The key figures now were Keynes and Beveridge; the key documents were Keynes's white paper on budgetary policy and demand management in 1943 (first carried out, surprisingly enough, by Kingsley Wood), and Beveridge's celebrated report on the social services, which had a truly extraordinary popular appeal as the opinion polls recorded. The schemes of the progressive intelligentsia of the 1930s with their appeals for planning and "the middle way", suddenly became the conventional wisdom. Together with other landmarks such as the Uthwatt Report on Town Planning, the Butler Education Act and the 1944 White Paper on Employment Policy, they provided a vast series of blueprints for change. Their ethos was symbolized in the "1941 Committee" of liberal-left journalists, politicians and churchmen. H. G. Wells (for a time one of their number) dismissed them as "well-meaning but meaningless". But in the heady atmosphere of wartime, their call for a more efficient and more humane capitalism was irresistible.

Dr Addison's main argument, however, concerns not so much the policy documents of the war years as the political mechanisms that gave them effect. Here there is more room for doubt and debate. The reforms of the wartime period rested, it would appear, on two main political bases—the collapse of 1930s-style Conservatism in May 1940, and the new ascendancy of the Labour Party as the conscience of the nation. The first of these is beyond dispute. Dr Addison devotes an important two chapters (based on his earlier doctoral thesis) to explaining the political miscalculations of Chamberlain in the months after September 1939. Because Chamberlain believed that war with Hitler might well be short-lived, and that negotiations might shortly be resumed on the Munich pattern, he refused to broaden his administration. Labour was kept at arm's length, despite the obviously central role of the trade unions in giving effect to the rearmament programmes. No attempt was made to coordinate economic policies on the home front. The Tory rebels of the 1930s—men like Duff Cooper, Macmillan, Amery and Boothby—were deliberately excluded from office, and Churchill's executive power at the Admiralty left uncertain.

The outcome was that the political impact of Chamberlain's fall in May 1940 was particularly shattering. The old style of Conservatism that he allegedly represented was rejected at home, as conclusively as it had been in external policy. Jarrow was linked with Munich in popular demonology. Survivors like Kingsley Wood (who jumped the right way in early May 1940 and was rewarded by Churchill with the Exchequer which he retained until his death) lingered on as testimony to the old orthodoxies of the National Government of the 1930s. But they were not replaced. The result was a political inertia for the Conservatives that lasted throughout the war years, until [illegible] resulted in terrible retribution in 1945. Dr Addison graphically depicts the paralysed, half-hearted character of the Tory Party in the last two years of the war—the [illegible] decisive commitment to new concepts of planning and social equality, the breakdown of morale at the local level, shown in humiliating setbacks at the hands of Commonwealth and other independent candidates in by-elections in 194[illegible]. The very leadership seemed [illegible] now: on the Cabinet's [illegible] Committee, the Conservative members, Butler, Lyttelton, Cranborne and Crookshank, found themselves hopelessly outclassed by Bevin, Morrison and their Labour counterparts.

It is clear from the evidence Dr Addison provides that the [illegible] of Conservatism was deeper even than that. Indeed, it [illegible] from the very circumstances in which Churchill became Prime Minister in May 1940. Dunkirk marked a watershed in British [illegible]. In fact, the nation may have moved further to the left in 1940 than in 1945. Shorn of its [illegible] leadership, half-hearted in its commitment to the collective [illegible] of a people's war, the Conservative Party throughout was [illegible] and uncertain. Nor did Churchill fire it with new enthusiasm. Certainly, he had no effective power at home as Lloyd George had in 1916; the curious attempt to boost the claims of [illegible] in 1942 soon fizzled out. [illegible], Churchill's erratic posture on the home front failed to give his party any clear lead. At times, as in his broadcast of March 1943, he tried to rekindle the crusading radicalism dating from his association with Lloyd George in 1908. At other times, it was manifest that Churchill's hostility to egalitarianism, and his suspicion of socialism in any form, conflicted with the radical passions of the war years. Confronted with the social security proposals of the Beveridge Report, Churchill was [illegible] and evasive. As time went on, indeed, under the wayward influence of such private courtiers as Brendan Bracken and Beaverbrook, Churchill lurched into a [illegible] commitment to unreconstructed private enterprise at home and old-style colonialism overseas, which left him distinctly to the right of such emerging Conservatives as Butler or Macmillan. [illegible] claim (or warning) that [illegible] "would see the transition from monopoly capitalism to socialism" went unheeded. It was small wonder that, even in the aftermath of Alamein, public opinion, as [illegible] in the Mass Observation [illegible], while according due tribute to Churchill's incomparable qualities as war leader, still felt he was inappropriate as a leader in peace. By 1944, 62 per cent felt that he ought to retire as premier as soon as peace came. In these circumstances, it is clear that Chamberlain and Churchill both bear major responsibility for the [illegible] of British Conservatism during the wartime years, and [illegible] of the post-war period as well.

If the wartime malaise of Conservatism is beyond question, the ascendancy of the Labour Party is more debatable. Some of the features of Labour's new [illegible] are clear enough—the [illegible] roles of Morrison as Home Secretary and Bevin at the Ministry of Labour allowed Labour to dominate the home front. With the emergence of Dalton at the Board of Trade, Labour was [illegible] exclusively identified with [illegible] the social and economic [illegible] of the war years. The roles of Morrison and Bevin have been documented, in excellent biographies, as has Labour's domination of Cabinet committees dealing with social and economic reconstruction. Much, too, has been made of the new power of the trade unions, with the desperate need for skilled manpower. On issue after issue, Labour drew the [illegible] of a double position—both the respectable pillar of the national government, and the voice of protest in the country, identified [illegible] out of office with the Beveridge report, with full employment policies and with the scheme for a national health service in a way that Conservatives could never [illegible]. Dr Addison is surely right [illegible] that party politics in no sense went into suspended animation during the so-called political truce of the war years (which really applied only to by-election contests), and that Labour's propaganda machine flourished during the wartime period with powerful electoral advantage in 1945.

On the other hand, the specific role of the Labour Party itself is less clear. Labour's leaders showed [illegible] clear understanding of the new radical mood. They remained [illegible] by their commitment to [illegible] until early 1945, Attlee, [illegible] and Morrison all wanted the coalition to continue. Attlee in particular was markedly cautious in harnessing the new egalitarianism of the wartime period in a new push towards socialism. "Worthy, but limited" was Barrington-Ward's verdict on him in March 1942. Labour leaders, for all their gifts as committee chairmen and departmental ministers, were slow to appreciate the massive political impact of the wartime reforms. What made Labour's triumph in 1945, far more than the campaigns of the Labour Party itself, was the role of the non-partisan leftish intelligentsia symbolized by Beveridge and his followers, identified with radical though non-socialist change, and fuelled by the popular mood of "fair shares" and egalitarianism which the war produced. Meanwhile, Attlee earnestly warned party workers in 1945 against "Marxist shibboleths", Cripps denounced "Utopias", while Morrison sought to capture "the middle ground" of the black-coated worker and the "small man". In July 1945, Attlee and his cautious colleagues found themselves the unsuspecting, almost the reluctant, legatees of a vast democratic upsurge, unique in British history.

Dr Addison briskly deflates a few myths about the 1945 election. It was not the result of Labour's having any special organizational advantages over the Conservatives; in terms of available agents and local grassroots machinery, the two major parties were evenly matched. Nor was it the result of Churchill's "Gestapo" broadcast, or his attempt to make political capital out of the role of Harold Laski as chairman of Labour's national executive, crass blunders though these were. In fact, the tide of public opinion flowed towards the Conservatives during the 1945 campaign. Labour's lead in the opinion polls fell from 16 to 6 per cent between May and July 4. Labour's victory was rather the product of a wider yearning for a brave new world of social and economic reconstruction, shared equally by detached middle-class intellectuals and by ordinary citizens, who knew little of Labour's programmes but knew at least that they totally rejected the policies of pre-war with which "the guilty men" were identified. Labour's victory rested on far broader bases than simply the servicemen's vote, to which it has often been popularly attributed. In this sense, the result of the 1945 election was rooted not so much in political as in social and intellectual history.

On all these matters, Dr Addison is an assured and impartial guide. He provides excellent portraits of individuals—that of Cripps, "technician and moralist", is especially well done—as well as lucid studies of policy blueprints. He has used a most impressive array of source material, including much from the cabinet and department archives in the Public Record Office. He has also studied a wide range of private manuscripts. He has been prevented from using some papers still barred to historians generally—the Clement Davies and Cripps Papers come to mind here. He has also been unable to quote from the Neville Chamberlain Papers—incomprehensibly so, as they have already been used freely in earlier works less significant than Dr Addison's. Otherwise, the author's scholarship is encyclopaedic. It is agreeable to note that his sources include his own grandmother, who supplied an interesting comment on the 1945 election in a Staffordshire village.

The analysis deals basically with the relentless thrust towards reform provided by the intellectual planners on the one hand and the Labour Party on the other, and the way in which these two reactions to pre-1939 Conservatism converged to provide the new post-war consensus. Dr Addison, significantly enough, has less to say of the interaction of domestic and foreign affairs, once Chamberlain had fallen from power. This is as it should be. Such crises as the fall of Singapore or of Tobruk had scant influence on politics at home. Nor was there a powerful pacifist movement in 1939 as there had been after 1914. The tender-hearted left found fulfilment rather in planning for a better post-war world, its zeal fired anew by the military triumphs of the Red Army. Only at the very end of the war, with new questions being posed about the post-war settlement, did foreign policy intrude again, when the British occupation of Greece provoked angry protest largely (though far from exclusively) from the Labour left. By 1945, foreign policy was ranged alongside domestic in the new partisan alignment, with the belief that "left could speak to left" and the demand (most forcefully articulated by Major Denis Healey, candidate for Pudsey and Otley in 1945) that Labour should support only left-wing regimes in the newly liberated countries of Europe. Still, the emphasis remained firmly on reconstruction in Britain itself. There was no "coupon election" now, none of the vindictive, primitive jingoism of the earlier war. Britain's khaki election of 1945, unlike those of 1900 and 1918, was preoccupied largely with domestic reform, with rebuilding a land fit not for heroes (narrowly defined) but for all citizens irrespective of class. In that sense at least, the Second World War for Britain was truly constructive, almost a good war.

Where further debate will concentrate is not on the dynamics of wartime change which Dr Addison has so admirably documented—for here his study in many areas is virtually definitive—but rather in evaluating its later significance. Since the effect of the war is said to have been the emergence of a new consensus, of which such neutral figures as Butler and Gaitskell were the later custodians, the quality of radicalism that the war-time years released must remain open to question. In some respects, the populist unity of wartime was a bogus one; centralism and controls were confused with classlessness. The great architects of wartime reform, Keynes and Beveridge, were both committed to the ethos of managed capitalism, to the traditional social hierarchy and institutional framework. Neither was one of nature's democrats. Still less was an icy bureaucrat like Sir John Anderson, who partly put their programmes into effect. Neither in terms of the distribution of wealth and economic power, nor in terms of democratic accountability did British politics during the war advance significantly beyond the confines of the Baldwin age. The conservatism, even complacency, that infected British post-war society continues to plague our economic performance and social cohesion in the 1970s. Since the 1945-51 Labour Government concentrated almost entirely on preserving the changes of the wartime period—on implementing the Beveridge proposals, the National Health Service, the stratified educational system of 1944, the physical controls of wartime (which some mistook for long-term "planning"), and a limited package of public ownership (with iron and steel thrown in belatedly, over Morrison and Greenwood's objections)—the extent of the wartime transformation remains debatable, even if Labour's programmes after 1945 provoked more antagonism than is often implied.

Underlying Dr Addison's account (though never spelled out by him in these terms) is the Labour Party's inability to grasp a rare opportunity to remould a society in flux. It failed to do so because its parliamentary leaders, from Hardie and MacDonald on, had always been committed to gradualist, consensual change within a liberal-progressive framework (as, latterly, had been the trade-union leaders), and because the "unity" of wartime reinforced the conservative basis of an instinctive backward-looking patriotism. But not everyone marched behind the new progressive standard. Another important strain in the politics of 1939-45, which also deserves emphasis by the historian, is that savage critique embodied in Aneurin Bevan's *Why not Trust the Tories?* (1944), written under the pseudonym Celticus (and omitted from the bibliography here). Bevan propounds a very different radical agenda, socialist, yet rooted in the libertarian traditions of the Levellers and Tom Paine. It is true that Bevan's diagnosis, then as later, was open to serious attack for its relative inattention to a coherent economic strategy which would underpin the social reforms that he demanded. In this area, the managerial techniques of Gaitskell and his associates were more immediately convincing. Even so, we need to be reminded that the new political centre was a shifting one, and that an important and articulate section of political opinion remained disenchanted by the limited progress charted for it by the self-proclaimed "moderates" of their day. When consideration is given to the results of Attlee's consensus for the condition of England (not to mention Wales and Scotland) in 1975, the politics of thirty years ago resemble less the politics of hope, than of hope deferred, perhaps for ever.

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The incorrigible Max

By Peter Keating

The Max Miller Blue Book
With an introduction by Barry Took and illustrations by Trog
72pp. Robson Books. Paperback, 95p.

It would be wrong to dismiss the current interest in Max Miller as just one further manifestation of a fashionable, and rather unhealthy, nostalgia for the 1940s. At the very beginning of that decade, George Orwell decided that as long as there were comedians like Max Miller appearing on the stage then "one knows that the popular culture of England is surviving". If such a claim seems too large, it does at least give the right kind of emphasis.

Although it is now twelve years since Max Miller died there is no sign that he has been in any way forgotten. Radio producers appear to seize any opportunity to introduce his voice into their programmes; special tributes have been paid to him on television, as well as radio; and virtually no interview with other members of his profession passes without an admiring reference to him as the model of what a stand-up comedian should be. If proof is needed that his reputation is not being unduly inflated by showbiz sentiment, a gramophone record is available on a bargain label (Pye, Golden Hour 584) which features, together with some standard studio routines, a complete performance recorded live at the Metropolitan, Edgware Road, in 1957. It is needed to give life, atmosphere, and a sense of timing, to the notorious *Blue Book* now published with a brief introduction by Barry Took and appropriate drawings by Trog.

Not that the notoriety of the *Blue Book* will seem justified today, and perhaps it never was. Max Miller was "cheeky" rather than "dirty", blatantly outrageous without being prurient. The laughter he inspired was nearly always affectionate, never sly, and the shocked gasps from the audience which he provoked and used so brilliantly were really an expression of delight. He was considered shocking because he concentrated on sex jokes at a time when the way for a comedian to attain national fame was to come to terms with a highly sensitive BBC. He refused to compromise and, knowing anyway that his living in the variety theatres was quite secure, revelled in the public belief that he was victimized by a stuffy, hypocritical Establishment.

It was this that allowed him to achieve with his audience the air of conspiracy that characterized his act. He didn't claim to know anything about life that they didn't know: he simply brought into the open what everyone sitting before him was thinking. He was a spokesman for the conspiracy: "Now, all my songs I write myself, and you can only hear them when I sing them. No one else *dares* sing them." His asides and taunts which, in the best of his routines, are funnier than the jokes themselves, were often challenges:

> I went home the other night . . . and I went in the back way; through the kitchen, through the dining-room to the drawing-room, and there's a fellow standing there, not a stitch on—can you imagine that lady? How's your memory gel?

He was always careful to explain that he talked about sex because that was what his audience wanted. It was all their fault: "Now I've got two books. I've got a White Book and a Blue Book. Which do you want?" When the only possible response came and the joke was under way, he would disclaim all responsibility: "Go on make something of that. You filthy lot. It's people like you get me a bad name."

From the stock situations of sexual comedy he created a world of characters distinctively his own yet sharing much, as has been pointed out so often, with the postcard art of Donald McGill. There is the bride who has the hem of her nightdress trimmed with fur—to keep her neck warm; the man with a social conscience who responds to appeals from politicians and philanthropists to give all to the needy, and who, when at last he stands naked in a wood, collapses before a board reading "Give your Nuts to the Squirrels"; the woman with thirteen children who swears that she will have no more now that she owns a hearing-aid: "Every night my husband would say, 'Are you going to sleep or what?' And I'd say What?"

His act depended so much on the naturalness of personal experience that it is difficult to grasp the total divorce he effected between public and private roles. As Barry Took explains: "While in the outside world the myths of his daring and racy indifference to the law abounded, in show business his reputation was that of a tough businessman who was, not to put too fine a point on it, mean." The toughness was professionalism. It seems clear that his private life had no correspondence with his public image, and that his stage persona reflected the highly skilled and practised dedication of a born entertainer rather than the spontaneity of popular culture in any simple sense.

The personality he projected on stage was that of the fancy-free rogue, moving from girl to girl, who goes home only to row with the wife. As with other English comedians working in roughly the same tradition, constraints were built into the act to soften the crudity. The producers of George Formby's films were always careful to have a very pretty, wholesome-looking girl standing by when a bawdy song was sung, and Max Miller subscribed to the same kind of theory, opening and closing his anti-sentimental *Blue Book* with sentimental songs. But some of the other techniques he employed were more unusual.

Although he would play up to the stud image ("There's a lady got opera glasses on me. She thinks I'm a racehorse!") his characteristic pose was, as John Fisher points out in *Funny Way to Be a Hero*, one of sexual ambiguity. Max Miller succeeded as the archetypal "man" by eliminating the "masculine" elements in his character. He was so successful at this that he could allow sex jokes against himself, and those of a kind that have become generally acceptable only very recently. Removing his fur coat to reveal a dazzling floral suit he would wait for the laughter to stop, and ask, "Well, what if I am?" The question was ridiculous enough to bring more laughter, and with it an opportunity to extend the joke: "Well, how can you tell? You can't tell. You can't *tell*. You can change overnight."

Distanced by his bizarre clothes, sentimental songs, and mock-homosexuality, and by means of this distancing totally in control of his audience, Max Miller was free to carry on with his main interest in life, and a very limited interest it was. There are moments of social satire ("There was a father, two sons and a daughter. One boy went to Oxford, the other boy went to Cambridge, and the girl—she wasn't any good either"); a sharply observed story of a judge trying to browbeat a soldier who turns on him and achieves a Sam Weller kind of verbal victory; and more generally there is the pervasive sense of hostility to all the normal respectable attitudes and values; "I went home the other night and caught the wife in the arms of the milkman. I said this can't be right, it's the coalman we owe money to."

It is tempting to see in this the saturnalian view of popular culture associated with Orwell, the "harmless rebellion against virtue" in which temporary anarchy works to reinforce the fundamental stability of working-class married life, but it won't do. In one of the most imaginative of his extended routines Max Miller describes his efforts to compose a new song. "I've got the beginning", he explains, "and I've got a part of the end, but what I'm after is that middle bit, that's what I want." No other short phrase can convey as precisely as this the main concern of Max Miller's humour. He was preeminently the comedian of the middle bit.

Even allowing for saturnalian upheaval, marriage in Max Miller's world is a harsh and unyielding battle. It has to be because women are constantly reduced to "the middle bit"; they have no other cause for existing ("Why is a girl getting out of a car like a rude joke? — there is nothing in any way comparable to the joyfulness of Morie Lloyd, who could be just as bawdy as Max Miller, or the more sentimental yet understanding observation of a Gus Elen or Kate Carney. What is demanded is a straightforward sexual contract, with women being offered a cynical equality with men:

> I like the girls who do,
> I like the girls who don't,
> I hate the girl who says she will,
> And then she says she won't.

The contract ends with marriage, the wife turning immediately into a shrew and the man carrying on as before; the only married women allowed to remain sexually attractive are those who still "do". Occasionally the married woman can score a victory ("I said 'Who's this?' She said, 'He's a nudist and he's come in to use the phone.'—There's a clever one from the wife.") but usually sex for her is over, and she is never allowed to forget the fact.

The worst thing she can do is to turn nostalgically to the past, evoking the days when things were different. An elderly couple return to their honeymoon hotel after fifty years. The wife finds nothing changed. "Isn't it funny. . . . Don't you remember John, how eager you were to kiss me. You didn't give me time to get my stockings off." She is told: "You'll have plenty of time tonight to knit yourself a pair." Even more direct is a husband's response to his wife's accusation that he is drunk: "I'm drunk and you're ugly, and when I wake up in the morning I'll be sober but you'll still be ugly." Perhaps this does reflect a view of marriage as "profoundly exciting and important" (Orwell in the Donald McGill essay), but it sounds more like the verbal equivalent of a fist between the eyes.

It is especially interesting in this context to see that in jokes involving children the same kind of relationship is perpetuated. Boys are always portrayed as mirror images of their fathers, and if they are not mirror images then he's not their father anyway. Girls, however, are not at all like their mothers; that can't happen until they themselves are married. Meanwhile they are a commodity, and the only way they can change the situation is to say "no"; not that, in Max Miller's world, even that can be taken at face value;

> But the girl I like the best of all,
> And I think you'll say I'm right,
> Is the girl who says she never does,
> But she looks as though she—'Ere'.

Relationships between fathers and daughters are, as one would expect, rarely mentioned, and when they are the dominant theme becomes quite blatant. The father whose sons went to Oxford and Cambridge willingly gives them his savings one at a time they return home to say that they are in trouble. When the daughter arrives with the same tale, her father says, "That's better, this is where we collect."

It is to the few really "blue" jokes that one must turn for a direct acknowledgment of attitudes which are always present implicitly. In these the humour falls away completely, leaving obscenities rather than racy stories. There are many candidates for the joke that Max Miller banned from the *Blue Book*; Barry Took chooses as the likeliest the one which involved a meeting with a beautiful girl on a narrow mountain ledge: "There was no room to pass. Honestly, I didn't know whether to block her passage or toss myself off." More commonly it has been supposed that it was not a joke in story form at all, but one of the notorious verses in which the final obvious rhyme is replaced by a characteristic cockney shout:

> When roses are red,
> They're ready for plucking.
> When a girl is sixteen,
> She's ready for—'Ere!

Whichever it was, the message is the same, and it represents an aspect of Max Miller's humour that is usually passed over by those admirers who are eager to offer a misty-eyed "popular culture". The warmth, moral rebellion, and refusal to be duped, what Orwell saw as the "sentiments" of a ruling class, are strongly there, but also at work is a narrowing element of bitter crudity and a relentlessly reductive attitude towards women.

"There'll never be another" would shout out as a triumphant boast. "When I'm dead and gone the game's finished." There is, of course, and it isn't, but Max Miller does seem to be too complete a representative of what is often regarded as characteristic working-class humour to be quickly forgotten. There is nothing wrong with that, as long as the laughter doesn't obscure entirely just how hard and unpleasant his world could be.

Max Miller by Trog

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The Great Victorian Collection
213pp. Cape. £3.25.

... is the mecca of North ... most urgent dreamers, ... who do not realize their ... there go quietly mad or ... themselves. California is ... group of eastern European ... went to establish the ... factory of Hollywood; ... Italian labourer Simon ... his magical towers; ... Midwesterner Walt Disney ... off his career by ... Disneyland; where William Randolph Hearst set down ... Simeon or Xanadu. As the ... and the Papas put it in ... Alley", "California ... is becoming a reality".

... Moore's new novel, California dreaming becomes a reality ... twenty-nine-year-old Canadian ... university professor Anthony ... Mr Moore's first non-... non-Irish hero, even if the ... a certain Hibernian ring ... Maloney is a historian whose ... has been "A Study of ... of Gaining a Colonial ... the Mores of Victorian ... as Exemplified by the Art ... Architecture of the Period". ... reading a seminar at Berkeley ... institution providentially ... one of the most influential ... professors of the Californian ... he drives down to the ... colony at Carmel for the ... and dreams that he has ... created with a vast collection ... exquisite, priceless Victorian ... set out in neatly arranged ... the vacant lot adjoining ... Waking next morning, ... discovers that his dream has ..., that the collection is ... despite the fact that many ... are indistinguishable duplicate ... works in various British ... Mr Moore has a field day ... the collection.

...'s delight in his creation ... short-lived. Initial suspicion ... the part of the press, ... people and the police soon ... an international sensation ... first "secular miracle" ... over by academic experts, ... by teams of scientists, ... by the media and by a ... skilled business promoters, Management Inc. Management Inc take over Maloney's affairs and build "the Great Victorian Village", a shopping, entertainment and hotel complex three miles away from Carmel, but more conveniently placed for freeway access, which eventually becomes a bigger attraction than the Collection itself. "Not only the Collection but he himself seemed to be passing into the control of others", Maloney muses early on, and this proves to be the case. He feels responsible for the Collection—"I know that this had somehow been given into my charge"—and when he neglects it the exhibits deteriorate. The Collection makes him a hero and eventually destroys him.

Like Mr Moore's superb novella *Catholics*, this is a witty, neatly wrought fable which, once its fantastic initial premise has been accepted, proceeds with inexorable logic and a sharp ear and eye for contemporary absurdity. Mr Moore never steps aside to comment on its wider implications. Only on the surface does *The Great Victorian Collection* appear to take him away from the novels of psychological realism about Irish Catholics at home or in North American exile that constitute his remarkably dense and consistent oeuvre. I would not pretend that I enjoyed this chilling novel as much as, say, *Judith Hearne* or *The Emperor of Ice Cream*. Yet it is no less fastidiously constructed or elegantly written, and all the themes of his earlier books are to be found here, if sometimes turned on their heads: his previous heroes and heroines, for instance, seek refuge in fantasies and are forced to face up to the reality of their situations, while Tony Maloney is made to confront the implications of his dreams. In a more singular sense, however, it seems to me that this new novel is not only a contribution to Mr Moore's oeuvre, but a commentary on it.

There are many ways in which Tony Maloney's predicament can be interpreted. The easiest would be to say that it is an intriguing puzzle that gives rise to a lively satire on contemporary society. Another view would be that Maloney has objectified the overbearing weight of Victorian culture that still hangs over our society. A variation of this is that he is both contributor to and victim of the current fashion for Victoriana, of the nostalgic cult of nineteenth-century British life (mostly "upstairs") with all the disturbing elements played down. It would also be possible to read the book as a fable about American cultural imperialism, about the way American money or American scholarship swallow up everything that has been created and experienced elsewhere.

All these interpretations have some validity, but what *The Great Victorian Collection* most brings to mind are Henry James's fables of the literary life, and such recent reworkings of those themes as David Ely's touching science fiction novella *Time Out*, in which an American academic comes to England as a member of a Russo-American team charged with re-creating a totally devastated Britain after a local nuclear holocaust, and Paddy Chayefsky's comedy *The Latent Heterosexual*, where a suddenly successful author loses his identity after being turned into a limited company by a band of lawyers and accountants.

Mr Moore's book seems to me to be a survey of his own literary career and a shrewd allegory about the situation of the artist in contemporary society. The Collection that Maloney dreams up is both the writer's output and his literary gift: by some mysterious process he has created an alternative world. Once launched on his career the author becomes involved in a tug of war with those who have a vested artistic or commercial interest in his work. Everything he does affects the integrity of his externalized vision: conflicting advice tells him to stick to his last or to come up with a new, fresher dream. All relationships—familial, erotic, professional—are determined by the way people understand the artist's work. Finally, there is a separation between the work (here the "Victorian Collection") and the reputation or public presence (the commercially exploitable "Great Victorian Village"), and after Maloney's death it is the latter that lives on, as is the case with most literary figures. Thus reduced *The Great Victorian Collection* sounds a sombre thing indeed. Which is misleading, for it is a novel of great exuberance and inventiveness.

Post-permissive blues

By Michael Mason

MARTIN AMIS:
Dead Babies
254pp. Cape. £3.25.

Both the Amises, father and son, do a special line in describing the heroic degree of suffering and temporary mutilation that human beings are prepared to inflict on their own organisms in the pursuit of pleasure. In Martin Amis's new novel there are several passages about what certain characters endure before, during, and after sex and drugs that recall Jim Dixon's crapulence and the high drama of Roger Micheldene's nostrils. Drinking and snuff-taking are habits about which there is little compulsion to adopt a moral stand, and Kingsley Amis used these matters simply to create wonderful comedy (this is not to say that *Lucky Jim* had no moralistic aspect; Mr Amis offered in it, apologetically but quite seriously, the ideal of existential freedom). Sex and drugs are not morally neutral topics, and Martin Amis does not want to render them so. Instead he has written in *Dead Babies* a novel that candidly represents our contemporary practice with drugs and sex, or some features of it, as sad and horrific.

This is done by projecting contemporary habits into a time in the near future—specifically, a weekend at a date when there are "L-type" Jaguars and drinks called "Whiskis". Cleverly, all the touches of futuristic colouring are thin in this way; if the reader spots one he will find it amusingly perfunctory, but if he just suspects one he may then get a sense of being unsettlingly out of touch with his own environment—perhaps some pubs *do* call them "Whiskis". During this weekend six young people and their four guests disport themselves in Appleseed Rectory, their lair in the Hertfordshire countryside. Scarcely anything good in the libertarianism of the 1960s has survived; that movement's ideals of peace, love, and warmheartedness are now scorned as "hippy". The heirs of liberation only respect glamour and violence. That process of degeneration which led from Bob Dylan and Ken Kesey to David Bowie and Charles Manson is complete. The novel's only spokesman for other values sententiously defends his stockbroker belt ideal of marriage, and then turns out to be by far the most evil and brutal member of the group. Two distressing side-effects of drugs, "street-sadness" and "false memory", are epidemic. Young people are losing interest in making love, a phenomenon called "cancelled sex".

With this touch the novel tips over into a disappointing banality. Martin Amis really seems to wish to assert that sexual freedom is only pleasant when it is novel and naughty, and that our society will soon be pining for a dose of restraint to freshen up sexual experience. To confirm the point only one successful act of intercourse takes place, though the characters talk incessantly about sex. More generally, we are shown in too pointed fashion that the characters suffer from various secret anxieties despite their liberated exteriors.

This sort of line is often used to rationalize mere resentful distaste for modern permissiveness, and I feel that *Dead Babies* is fuelled by a hatred of libertarian practices for which Martin Amis can find no adequate vehicle. A sense of the horrific is carefully fostered, but no atrocities occur that quite justify it until the spectacularly brutal final one—which thus seems extravagant. You cannot make a crescendo of depravity out of poisoning cats and shooting pigeons. Even the accounts of drug-taking do not convincingly register a sense of intoxication, let alone the possibility of psychological damage that is so often darkly mentioned. A strong sense of futility does hover about the characters' lives: their pasts are incoherent, forgotten, unredeemed, and only the present, the weekend in question, counts. But weekends tend to attract such feelings even in the best-regulated households.

It is good to be able to record that there is some very successful comic writing and invention in *Dead Babies*, thoroughly worthy of *The Rachel Papers*. But sometimes the language does not click, and there are some limp similes: Appleseed Rectory looks "like something in a monochrome photograph", and one of the characters' handwriting "like giant's graph-readings" (this flaws an otherwise fine piece of comic writing in the Amis tradition—ornate but surefooted). In keeping with its ambitious moral programme the book has an elaborate formal structure. It is implied that this is a Menippean satire, but the Menippean mixing of styles does not seem to get beyond an occasional wobble in the idiom.

Dead Babies does have complexities in its moral scheme that I have not mentioned. In particular, the character called Keith Whitehead, who is hideous and in every way inadequate, turns out by a satisfying double irony to be as nasty as he looks. He is as beastly and vain and selfish as the beautiful and lordly Andy Adorno, and there are some subtle parallels between their stories. The moral atmosphere attending Billy Bunter blends with that of *A Clockwork Orange*. Martin Amis's underdog does not go where the good underdogs go at the end of novels like *Lucky Jim*. Instead he endures the ultimate bullying far worse than anything Harry Wharton and Co meted out to the Fat Owl of the Remove.

...me have it, some don't

...Clifford

...MIDDLETON:
...
...Hutchinson, £3.75.

...Middleton was joint-winner ... Booker Prize. *Holiday*, ... which won him the prize, ... the break-up of an ugly ... and its even uglier reconciliation ... during a short boarding-... holiday. It was a dispiriting ... lacked energy and failed ... pain, an effect not ... attributable to the hero's ... perceptions, although he registers ... minutiae in much the ... as his child's death. In ... first-person narrative, too, ... beings were a composite of ..., thighs and red eyes.

...actions wealthy Edward ... marries his mistress Hilda ... wife, Anna, has committed ... Edward's student son ... a few thousand and a house ... housekeeper; he lives with ... dresses badly and works; ... a nervous breakdown ... imagines—imagines?— ... and Edward think little of ... is ultimately shuffled off. ... of Marcroft is dying of ...; the Countess makes ... to Hilda, but is rebuffed; ... and desperation, it ... are the price of bossiness ... loving inappropriately, ... desired by many and ... by all, though their reasons ... obscure.

... one respect does *Distractions* contrast with *Holiday*: its ... lead richly comfortable ... they are no more attractive ... the people who featured ... world of *Holiday*. Mr ... is certainly not a snob, ... not a satirist either and ... appear to intend his ... to seem contemptible; ... not laughed at or treated ... Yet one doesn't get ... that he has any liking or ... for them. The novel consists ... of summary conversation, ... the intervening narrative, ... punctuation, minimal ... as flat as the dialogue, placing people, things, flatly, with little regard for the differences between them. This flatness is highly reductive.

The refusal to offer an authorial perspective creates a situation where the values of the characters appear also to underlie the novel. It would seem that the chief virtue in shopkeepers and magnates alike is success—surviving, manipulating, getting your woman/man, making money. The last two are significantly interchangeable: Hilda feels she has "a real husband" because of the connexion between his work and his possessions—he "toed the solid earth because it belonged to him". For Edward "I've got a beautiful wife" is the same thing as "I've made my pile". Those who fail by being plain, inarticulate, undesired or (the greatest sin) mad, are viewed even more cursorily than the favoured. If the treatment of "normal" passion, expectation or uncertainty is limited, that of depression and mental illness is unpleasantly dismissive. The title's double meaning, distraction as madness and distraction as amusement, comes to seem a little disturbing.

Mr Middleton may of course intend irony, but this seems improbable when the apparently affirmative ending makes an analogy between Anna, Linda, and Allen (Hilda's first husband) and some kittens marked out for drowning: Hilda is the survivor of the litter. Since the comparison is offered without judgment we are left to its implications: can characters survive an author who measures them against such a metaphor?

Hongkong provides the exotic setting for Adam Hall's new Quiller adventure, *The Mandarin Cypher* (256pp. Collins. £2.95), in which our man takes on a clutch of Chinese and very long odds to bring out a defecting British engineer. Threats against the person, described with Mr Hall's characteristic relish for physiological detail, include cyanide in the toothpaste, karate in a snake shop, and a knife attack on the bottom of the South China Sea—after which the finale seems a little tame. The plot is brisk but unhurried, and nicely spiced with the familiar, quirky humour of this most engaging of British agents.

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Basic Beckett

By Julian Moynahan

KATHARINE WORTH (Editor): *Beckett The Shape Changer*
227pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £4.95.

This generally excellent collection, *Beckett The Shape Changer*, which developed from a Beckett Symposium organized for the University of London extra-mural department by Katharine Worth, suggests to me that Beckett is finally in danger of being understood. It does happen, even to the most arcane of writers, and often in the same way. First there is the period of obscurity and neglect, which in Beckett's case lasted from 1931 to the mid-1950s; next there is the period of discovery and publicity accompanied by "pioneering" critical expositions that pursue partial insights—Beckett's debt to Existentialism, Cartesianism, Occasionalism, Geulincx or whatever—to preposterous or obvious conclusions; finally, a real understanding begins to emerge and with it, quite often, a discriminating sense of the writer's limitations that actually heightens awareness of his true value. Thus Martin Dodsworth's "*Film* and the Religion of Art" persuades me that Beckett's *Film* is indeed a relative failure owing to its schematism, the virtual identity in it of form and animating idea. Yet Mr Dodsworth also makes us aware of a greater Beckett, "the profoundly ambiguous and humorous creator of *Malone Dies* and . . . *From an Abandoned Work*". One had grasped, rather uneasily, the fact that Beckett was in some sense a religious writer. But one was not altogether prepared for Mr Dodsworth's confident claim that Beckett's religious concerns in *Film* manifest themselves with "all the meanness of a Calvinism where salvation is utterly impossible". Clearly Beckett studies have progressed beyond the stage of gee-whizzery and genuflection.

Many of the contributors appear to belong to a younger generation of Beckett readers for whom some of the old, paralysing problems or questions pose relatively little difficulty. Harry Cockerham, in "Bilingual Playwright", scrupulously compares French and English versions of the plays in order to show that Beckett is equally though differently creative in each language and that no version can ever be thought of simply as the translation of an "original" into the other language. The implication, with all sympathy to the librarians who must classify the works and to the several academic departments which must compete to expound them, is that Beckett's bilingualism is a condition to be lived with, not a controversy to be settled in favour of one language-literature-culture or the other.

Ms Worth's fine introduction includes some very interesting remarks on Beckett's affinities with Synge, especially with the Synge of *At the Saint's Well*, that masterpiece of dramatic inertia, of making do with less. This opens up the whole neglected topic of Beckett's relation to Anglo-Irish literary tradition, a complicated and essential aspect of Beckett which needs further looking into.

At the other end of the book this same critic writes expertly on the spatial and auditory dimensions of Beckett's theatre, with particular reference to such recent stage pieces as *Not I* and to the BBC-commissioned radio plays such as *All That Fall*. By "expertly" I mean that she works from tapes as well as from texts and also from direct experience in the production of Beckett plays: this experience she puts to good use in her discussion of how the abandonment of stage ground level through blacking out in *Not I* alters and torments the spectator's perception of the play. Ms Worth explores and emphasizes some of the darkest, most purgatorial items in Beckett's dramatic production but never abandons her conviction that the playwright, because he is a great artist, remains on the side of life and light. It's heartening to be told that Beckett is a humanist at bottom. Nevertheless, one remembers the bottom-stabbing, in *How It Is*, and the not very humanistic definition of old age as the time of "the sour cud and the iron stool".

Beckett's relentless experimentalism, his grim pursuit of "lessness" in certain recent works—*How It Is*, *Imagination Dead Imagine*, *The Lost Ones*—somewhat resemble the progress of certain American abstract painters, for instance Barnett Newman, during the 1950s. In both there is the implied assumption that less is more and that slight variations or outright repetition of formal design are more authentic than new departures and visions.

It is therefore interesting that several of these London critics believe Beckett reached his high point in fiction with the relatively more ample narrative inventions of the trilogy, especially with *Malone Dies* and that the later minimalist prose is genuinely minor. They may be wrong or right in their view that when Beckett abandons humour and tries to take us to the end of the line on the sole vehicle of existential anguish, we have every right to kick against the pricks.

John Chalker's "The Satiric Shape of *Watt*" is the most academic essay in the collection and opens with the near-Irish bull of: "To write on the shape of *Watt* is an exercise in absurdity." Brian Finney's "*Assumption* to *Lessness*: Beckett's Shorter Fiction" takes the prize for most useful because appended "Selective Bibliography of Beckett's Shorter Fiction" brings order to what had been a wilderness. But the most ambitious essays are by Hardy's "The Dubious Comedy in Beckett's Fiction: Art, Love, Nature", and Charles Rossman's "The Labours of Postical Attention". Professor Hardy's piece, which she works out in richness and while ranging over the whole ground of Beckett's work, is hallmarked by the oxymoronic "consolations" of her title. It allows art, love, and nature to lend their appeal and offer their gifts to the human actors and puppets in his works, but only under strictly qualified conditions of desiccation, grotesqueness, scarcity or remoteness. A similar point was made by Jean Kermode in a lecture at Reading when he remarked that the works were full of human signs, only most of these signs have been stamped "cancelled".

Mr Peake's essay, employing perceptions and terminology from Beckett's Proust (1931), is that:

> Beckett's excavations have moved towards an ideal, towards "the only world he knows, his reality and significance, the world of our own latent consciousness". Yet this latent consciousness can neither be described nor imagined because words and images belong and refer to the circumferential phenomena they are used, they must be used with an awareness of their emptiness, and repeatedly convoked and negated. Every fiction must be exposed as fictitious, and consequently, since *Molloy* (1938) each novel has been more beneath and underneath its predecessors.

The idea isn't new? Of course it isn't but it has never before been worked out with such a clear sense of elegance and philosophic depth. Mr Peake's essay is destined to be a classic in the critical elucidation of Beckett's writing.

The fortunes of Imagism

By William Pritchard

J. B. HARMER: *Victory in Limbo*
Imagism 1908-1917
238pp. Secker and Warburg. £6.

Three sentences from J. B. Harmer's *Victory in Limbo*, none of them directly relating to his particular subject, the fortunes of Imagism, may suggest a general problem with his writing: (1) "For too many people, though, Japan still meant Gilbert and Sullivan's appalling *Mikado* or the artificial cream of Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*"; (2) "He (Wyndham Lewis) returned soured and embittered from the war. Much of his later work is impressive, but the emotional damage he suffered while an artillery officer on the Western Front dulled his spontaneity"; (3) "Today's culture is a maze of superficialities. All is trend: a doctrine of instantaneity triumphs. Yet underneath, the superficiality lurks an inevitable dissatisfaction." Taken together these sentences are annoying both for the condescension liberally doled out and also for their somewhat inept execution of purpose. It may be legitimate, it somewhat later, to deplore fascism, but there is no need to drag in Gilbert and Sullivan, most certainly not the admirable *Mikado* (unless perhaps one is for Japanese descent); the chatter about Lewis's spontaneity being dulled after 1918 is the more mindless for its being propped up by a footnote (No 106 of the chapter) which reads "Private communication: Miss Kate Lechmere to author"—as if Kate Lechmere spoke nothing more or less than the whole truth; while to call today's "culture" trendy, is sociology in a jar, with the style that sees dissatisfaction "lurking" beneath it.

In more sensible moments Mr Harmer admits that "any attempt to sum up the Imagist aesthetic leaves one floundering in a quagmire" and that the movement is no more important than the poems which got written out of its impulse: "Ultimately the importance of any artistic movement lies in the work of art itself", he says. But ultimately can be a long way off; immediately he busies himself with exhaustively quoting and commenting on, for example, what F. S. Flint said to Pound, or what Pound said to W. C. Williams about Flint, or what Richard Aldington and T. E. Hulme thought poems should look like. One of his chapters attempts an over-ambitious survey of English and American poetry in the nineteenth century before the coming of the Imagist word; another divides the Imagists into three groups, captained respectively by Hulme (1909), Pound (1912-14) and Amy Lowell (1915-17). Then, after considering the achievement, "the work of art itself" of each poet involved, he examines how much the Imagists owed to other literatures and literary movements, notably Symbolism. All this buttressed with 500 footnotes and a large bibliography.

It is not clear just what this book has shown nor how it could be of use to anyone except, one supposes, some other historian of the Imagist movement. For one thing the "history" is simply not as interesting as might be thought. Hugh Kenner's massive study of the Pound era is fascinating partly because Mr Kenner is a brilliant writer, also because, big with an idea, he determined to give everyone full imaginative treatment—novelist, poet or even charlatan—who was connected in lively ways with the head man. By contrast Mr Harmer believes that somehow getting down the times and places, quoting once more those few "don'ts for Imagists", rehearsing the contributions of the likes of Ernest Rhys or Rupert Radford or Francis Willoughby Tancred—"The sex enchants me, and I like to view/ Their knacks and laces, or run through/ The silks in folds"—will add up to something and justify his labours. Curiously Harmer feels little need to take account of Mr Kenner's work, to which no reference is made in the text; even more curiously he seems to be interested, although he lists it in his bibliography (under "Other Books" in an important predecessor in his field, William Pratt's *The Imagist Poem*, an anthology of poems with a full and extremely useful introduction to the movement and its participants.

Mr Pratt's way of handling the subject is just right: to lay out with care and economy the different Imagist groups, then inquire into what was meant by "the image", "free verse" and the like, then attempt some evaluation of how important or trivial it all was. And then to follow with 150 or so poems (you can lose of course the ones into relatively few pages): "pure" ones by Hulme, Flint, Pound or H.D., and impure ones—influenced by Imagist practice—by Lawrence, Williams, Marianne Moore and Stevens. By comparison with Mr Pratt's critical anthology, Mr Harmer's chronicle is rambling to the point of getting itself lost in bypaths best remained unvisited, as when for example he tells us at some length about Basil Hall Chamberlain's study of Japanese poetry:

> Chamberlain's essay on the haiku had been read with appreciation by Paul-Louis Couchoud, a young French doctor. (He was the medical adviser and friend of Anatole France.) He had also studied Charles Maltre's review of Chamberlain. Couchoud spent some time in Japan (and was there during the Russo-Japanese war).

The reader who can sit still through this must be an extremely devoted one.

Most glaringly, the book falls down where it needs to be strongest, in commentary on individual poems and poets. If we are to see the movement's importance as lying "in the work of art itself" then the chronicler of names and dates has to be a critic as well. Too often Mr Harmer falls into a discipline manner of summary that sounds as if he's trying gamely to find something positive to say for the poet. Joseph Campbell "has been unjustly neglected"; but a quoted poem in his "characteristic manner" goes like this:

> The dewn whiteness,
> A bank of slate-grey cloud lying heavily over it.
> The moon, like a hunted thing, dropping into the cloud.

Mr Harmer thinks it too bad Hulme gave up poetry for philosophy, and judges his poem "Madmen" to be a "remarkable small achievement", but without further commentary except to compare it with a schizophrenic utterance quoted by R. D. Laing, it is hard to see Hulme's as more than markably small achievement. Of H.D.—"Sometimes her poetry is a good sentence in that vein"; "Oshima, Gift of the Sea", to which the great river of the people and produce of a thousand-mile journey it makes from source: "Because Oshima sees herself as a stone it has come to distrust its rudeness."

Finally, Achebe would put his finger on what is remembering rather than forgetting. Anticipating criticism of the inclusion of essays that are masses of his country's terrible pain he says: "I believe that I need to survive as a nation we need to grasp the meaning of our story. And he places firmly in intellectual's hands David's sling to shatter the hydra-headed Goliath preoccupied with the current national pastime of writing 10-years ago into prestige. The hopeful phenomenon of a people ready to applaud in his country is the intellectual enough guts to speak his mind. Many of us, from South Africa to the Soviet Union, who have the mind's struggle is hopelessly unequal in countries where the great danger lies "in pretending that things are the same as truth" and ourselves whether the existence of oneself as a pawn in it not an evasion of the responsibility of stone and sling, ready to hand.

Achebe cares too much about his people to pretend then, in less than a generation, of freedom from alien rule, the black nations have inherited chiefly for his purpose short stories are among the best "the language", we wonder who in the world is addressed in this way.

When R. P. Blackmur, William Carlos Williams's spokesman "the Imagism of 1912 was conceded" he suggested, as he points out, a standard which applied to any modern poem looks Imagist and that we care about only for other and extraliterary reasons. Perhaps now similarity of Imagism to the history of modern poetry, to worry about whether the mingling of personality, mythepiery and gossip is of any use in making the poems available to us.

At the crossroads of cultures

By Nadine Gordimer

CHINUA ACHEBE: *Morning Yet on Creation Day*
Heinemann Educational. £3
Doubleday, £1.50).

...ed by Christianized parents ... Queen Victoria's beloved; ... of the colonial master's ... splendidly appropriating it ... interpret his country's and ... today's pain; bold user of freedom ... by Africa against white domination; Albert Chinualumogu became ... Achebe is himself the ... African experience. It is ... finest one. The importance ... book of essays, *Morning Yet ... Creation Day*, is that in an unpretentious, hundred-odd pages it ... this so impressively. ... Chinualumogu has in no ... cost of the missionary, tub-thumping childhood evoked in the ... serenely autobiographical essay, ... with the director of Nigerian ... broadcasting during early ... colonial years, the novelist on ... work doctoral theses are shed ... as flying-ants' wings after ... the anguished spokesman for ... Africans during civil war, the ... defender and critic of the ... in Africa, he is alive today in ... exile as Chinua Achebe ... Amherst, Massachusetts.

Achebe writes of having lived, as ... child born in 1930 in ... Nigeria, at the crossroads of ... He adds of Africa: "We ... today." But unlike most ... contemporary black writers and ... he does not see this circumstance as fission and refraction, ... the inheritance of many ... as his risk and right. To ... the criss-cross of Africa and ... America is a place of "a certain dangerous potency; dangerous ... a man might perish there ... with multiple-headed ... but also he might be lucky ... to his people with the ... prophetic vision". Achebe ... has done so with—to borrow ... Achebean phrase ... elsewhere in the book—"unflinching ... This book brings us ... in his sanity and shrewd ... he is like she market town ... Oshima, Gift of the ... to which the great river ... the people and produce of ... journey it makes from ... source: "Because Oshima sees herself as a stone it has come to distrust its rudeness."

Finally, Achebe would put his finger on what is remembering rather than forgetting. Anticipating criticism of the inclusion of essays that are masses of his country's terrible pain he says: "I believe that I need to survive as a nation we need to grasp the meaning of our story. And he places firmly in the intellectual's hands David's sling to shatter the hydra-headed Goliath preoccupied with the current national pastime of writing 10-years ago into prestige. Her work has suffered "a blow by no means altogether undeserved"? (But *mostly* deserved?) An important exhibit, Laye's "Gloire de Dijon"—

> . . . and her swung breasts
> Sway like full-blown yellow
> Gloire de Dijon roses

—receives only the following comment: "The metaphor implies that Lawrence was already on the road to *Lady Chatterley*, at least it is preferable to Flaubert's references to bosoms billing like doves." Lady Chatterley, why the reference? Not instead attempt to describe the appeal and limitations of Laye's poem? And what Lawrence's poem is now remembered chiefly for his novels, short stories are among the best "the language", we wonder who in the world is addressed in this way.

When R. P. Blackmur, William Carlos Williams's spokesman "the Imagism of 1912 was conceded" he suggested, as he points out, a standard which applied to any modern poem looks Imagist and that we care about only for other and extraliterary reasons. Perhaps now similarity of Imagism to the history of modern poetry, to worry about whether the mingling of personality, mythepiery and gossip is of any use in making the poems available to us.

The art of thorn carving originated in Nigeria during the 1930s. With its genial naturalism and use of genre subjects it departs radically from traditional African sculpture, which is markedly stylized and symbolic in function. This miniature carving appears in Thelma R. Newmann's Contemporary African Arts and Crafts *(306pp. 489 photographs, 23 in colour. Allen and Unwin. £5.95).*

critic applauded Ouologuem's statement that African unity is a theory for dreamers, and saw the achievement of the Ouologuem novel as "forcing moral universality on African civilisation". Achebe writes:

> The over-riding thesis [is] that Ouologuem has somehow restored dignity to his people and their history by investing them with responsibility for violence and evil . . . And we are to understand . . . that this was something brave and new for Africa, this manly assumption of responsibility. Of course a good deal of colonialist rhetoric always turned on that very question. The moral inferiority of colonized peoples, of which subjugation was a prime consequence and penalty, was most clearly demonstrated in their unwillingness to assume roles of responsibility. . . . It was a foundation tenet of colonialism and a recurrent element of its ideology and rhetoric. Now, to tell a man that he is incapable of assuming responsibility for himself and his actions is of course the utmost insult, to avoid which some Africans will go to any length . . . they will agree, for instance, to ignore the presence and role of racism in African history or pretend that somehow it was all the black man's own fault, which is complete and utter nonsense. For whatever faults the black man may have or whatever crimes he committed (and they were, and are, legion) he did not bring racism into the world. . . . Those who acclaim a writer's bold originality in "restoring historical initiative to his people" when in reality all he does is pander to their racist and colonialist attitudes . . . are no more than unscrupulous interrogators taking advantage of an ingratiating defendant's weakness . . . to egg him on to irrotrievable self-incrimination. . . . Certainly anyone, white or black, who chooses to see violence as the abiding principle of African civilization is free to do so. But let him not pass himself off as a restorer of dignity to Africa, or attempt to make out that he is writing about Man and about the state of civilization in general.

It can be seen that literary criticism has a very special position in relation to African writing. It is not an esoteric debate between Leavisites, structuralists, etc, going on over the oblivious heads of writers at work. It has heavier implications in what may be called, without invoking chauvinism, national consciousness. It has to do with what Achebe calls "the result of the disaster brought upon the African psyche in the period of subjection to alien races". This underlies the apparently tiresome disagreement among African writers about whether they do or do not want to be considered under the differentiated from writers whose traditional cultural background is the same as that of critics who presume to evaluate their work. It is curious that the totally dissimilar approaches of Marxist and non-Marxist criticism, where European critics are dealing with European writers, are reconciled in a synthesis of European culture, for the purposes of this view. It is the competence of either to evaluate works arising from the African experience that is questioned. This is the ground on which some writers deny that the criteria of literary criticism, arising from the assumptions of a value system that discounted others and set up the polarity between the "primitive" (Afro-pre-Columbian) and the "civilized" (Greco-Roman), are valid for literature which reflects the values of those other systems.

Alternatively, there are writers who regard the category "African writer" (with its concomitant, African critic?) as a patronizing relegation to literacy provincialism. Achebe quotes Nigeria's finest poet, Christopher Okigbo: "There is no African literature. There is good writing and bad writing—that's all." And cheers go up from many of us, black and white, African and European. But let there be (following E. M. Forster's example with democracy) only two cheers; for to pretend that a bad writer becomes a genius by the critics' default, no critic whose own history and social conditioning can lead him to read a writer's eloquent self-contempt as evidence of superior creative insight instead of recognizing it as a projection of his own (the critic's) subconscious contempt for the writer's society, can be set up as the blessedly objective arbiter of literary standards. (If this conclusion has a structuralist ring about it let it stand to structuralist theory as *Sons and Lovers* does to the Oedipus complex.) There are only good writers and bad writers; but there is no literature that is "only" literature, and—as this book demonstrates convincingly—there are no "pure" critics.

Having made his point, Achebe reminds African writers that if African literature is subject to all manner of distorted critical interpretation part of the problem is that "the task (sometimes—let's face it—for the good reason that we will not do the hard work that should equip us) . . . has fallen to others". *Okike*, the African journal of new writing he edits, is doing the hard work, along with *Transition*. I do not think Achebe visualizes an African Criticism for African Literature—a closed shop affair. He sees it "in the great festival of the world's cultural harvest" as the entry of aesthetic and social concepts that through Europe's ignorance and arrogance were absent in the systems of thought in which the critical establishments of world literature were formed.

His celebration of the "great festival" is in controversial contrast to the withdrawal of blacks in America who make it clear that they turn on that festival not only their backs but backsides, insisting that the African/Afro-American will not regain his own cultural heritage without a total rejection of "white" culture. Yet there never could be any doubt that Achebe is dedicated soul and pen to what he calls "an adequate revolution for me to espouse—to help my society regain belief in itself and put away the years of denigration and debasement".

That "adequate revolution" is his own definition of his commitment as a writer. He clearly distrusts political ideology. Whatever one's own convictions, one respects that he may have earned his reasons with more active distinction than one adopted one's convictions. He does not discuss ideological beliefs at all except for a passing reference to African Socialism, dismissed summarily along with negritude as "props" fashioned by Africans to get themselves on their feet and out of the colonial era: "Once we are up we aren't need any of them"—an admittedly disturbing, since he is a great admirer of Kwame Nkrumah, who certainly didn't regard African Socialism as a prop. Neither does Achebe employ the vocabulary of Black Power, but here, quite apart from the obvious fact that he is too good a writer to use those poor spent bullets, one understands at once this means not that he is less but more profoundly involved with black cultural liberation than those who do. In "Language And The Destiny of Man" (and in the remarkable "*Chi* in Igbo Cosmology") he takes up arms alongside Thomas Mann, George Steiner and Günter Grass against the debasement of the Word from its noble origin as "crucial to the creation of society" to a position where language is "disjoined from truth" and "horrors can descend once again on mankind".

In "The African Writer And The English Language"—an essay written some years ago—he claims that language as much by the grace, wit and enthralling narrative touches with which he writes it as by his argument:

> The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. The African writer should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience. The nondescript writer has little to tell us . . . so he might as well tell it in conventional language . . . he is like a man offering a small, routine sacrifice for which a chick or less will do. A serious writer must look for an animal whose blood can match the power of his offering.

Achebe has long captured his quarry in English. For me, his important contribution to the language is also the contribution one expects from African imaginative literature in general: a new sensibility signified in new imagery. Harry Levin in an essay entitled "From Obsession to Imagination: the Psychology of the Writer" has defined this unique quality of imaginative writers: "The Latin *imaginatio*, like its Greek counterpart *phantasia*, designated the mind's capacity for forming images . . . based on what the mind had previously taken in through the senses."

Achebe writes in his introduction that he now feels colder towards the "fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English" in African literature which he argued in his early essay. At the same time he is "unable to see . . . a more comfortable resolution" to the central problem of African writers—the use of the languages of foreigners in the most intimate relation of man to word outside of prophecy: imaginative writing. His detailed reactions to Wole Soyinka's plan to have Kiswahili adopted as a pan African language would be something important for us to learn—in his next collection of essays, perhaps? In this book, he mentions having made a resolve not to make any "further pronouncements on . . . African literature . . . unless I dreamt up something really novel and spectacular to say". He was right; he ought to be left in peace to write his outstanding novels, stories and poetry. I want him to keep that resolve; I hope he breaks it from time to time. His critique wings in vivid flashes, leading to honey, while more pedantic theses hack sawdust from the forest.

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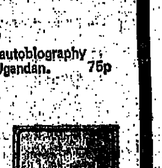

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Patterns of consumption

By B. E. Harrell-Bond

MILAN KALOUS:

Cannibals and Tongo Players of Sierra Leone

320pp. Distributed by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, £6.

According to its author, *Cannibals and Tongo Players of Sierra Leone* comprises a selection of about one fifth of some thousand documents from the Sierra Leone government archives which deal with this topic. Most of the documents date from between 1890 and 1907 and refer to the practice of cannibalism in the southern part of the country. The publishing of original documents is becoming more common. However, no such publication better illustrates the limitations of such collections than does this one offered by Milan Kalous. He must have anticipated the vitriolic attacks [his] book would evoke, so he is to be credited for making his interpretations of the data and his personal aims in writing the book boldly explicit in his brief introduction.

[In] short, although recognizing that it is highly unfashionable to say so, Dr Kalous wants to prove that colonialism was a positive chapter in the history of Africa in that it was, on the whole, beneficial for ordinary Africans because it made their lives and property safer and protected them against the oppression of "traditional rulers". Cannibalism, in Dr Kalous's view, was one mechanism by which traditional rulers kept their subjects in abject fear and suppression, and colonialism stamped it out.

Dr Kalous accuses historians and anthropologists who "gloss over" the unpleasant facts of African history of "moral relativism (to put it mildly) or to put it crudely, moral insanity". He observes that while a typical progressive historian of Africa would certainly condemn Nazi atrocities and would hardly call them functional, such a historian would, however, when dealing with Benin human sacrifices, Imperre cannibalism, or African domestic slavery, do his best to make them morally neutral and to some extent at least "acceptable".

Putting aside other issues for the moment, it must be admitted that Dr Kalous has raised an important point. Mary Douglas has discussed the same problem (*African Studies Association* monograph No 9, London, 1972). After surveying a number of unsatisfactory theories of witchcraft, she asks how it is that anthropologists have been content with a theoretical scheme which combines so little explanatory value with so many discrepancies and gaps. The answer she finds is in the special position held by the anthropologist as mediator between his informants and their colonial rulers. By explaining the constructive role that witchcraft beliefs had in a functioning social system, anthropologists attempted to fulfil this responsibility. However, as Professor Douglas continues, "their enthusiasm for native cultures led them to take up a theoretical position which treated conflict as benign in primitive society, a position they would not extend to their own society".

Dr Kalous says that even those who would accept the material in his documents as facts would feel that they should not be published after 1960. He published his own book in Auckland, New Zealand, after it was rejected by what is, I suspect, an unprecedented number of publishers. There are scholarly reasons why any publisher would be justified in rejecting the book, but were these the actual reasons for the general boycott? Not always, I fear. One specialist admitted to having been asked for an opinion on the book by three publishers. Had he read the manuscript? No, it was not necessary: the title was sufficient. It would, after all, be "inauspicious for all concerned" for such a book to appear in print.

And just who are all of those who are concerned? First there are the Africans themselves. In Dr Kalous's view, to gloss over or ignore the nasty realities of history is simply a "very benign variety of the old paternalistic approach towards Africa: Africans are just poor big children who must not be told the harsh truths about their past—it would be harmful to their mental health". Dr Kalous is quite right to say there are no reasons for shielding Africans from the unpleasant facts in their own history (or in anyone else's history, for that matter), but there are some quite understandable reasons why Africans may object to any further display of their dirty linen in public. After all, half-truths, misrepresentations, and outright lies have been successfully used to justify all kinds of evils which have been perpetrated in African societies. Racial and cultural prejudices are still very much alive, and one thing Dr Kalous's book will accomplish is to provide fresh fuel for those fires.

Who else is concerned? It is well known that a growing number of African governments are placing obstacles in the way of foreigners who apply for permission to conduct research. Their reasons are not here a primary concern. What is more pertinent is the paranoid reaction to the situation among some members of the community of "Africanists". One suspects that the growing tendency to consider whether or not it is "auspicious" to investigate or write about this or that topic has much less to do with either an attitude of paternalism or sensitivity towards Africans than with a growing solicitude regarding individual vested interests in terms of "access to the field". Recent events in Uganda may serve to intensify these less than scholarly concerns.

Dr Kalous asserts that the historian's task and duty is to tell the truth about the past. But is the publishing of these documents out of context "telling the truth"? It would have been possible to select quite a different set of documents from the same period describing other atrocities which were being committed by the British and the French, who were struggling to extend their control over that part of the country. It was in 1898 that the Protectorate was annexed, and although some treaties were signed with lesser chiefs who used their complicity with the British to defeat their enemies, the majority of the people did not quietly concede their rights. In 1898 the Hut Tax was imposed and this resulted in even more widespread armed attempts to drive the British out. There are countless records of skirmishes where the officers reported the number of "rebels" who were killed. (Whenever a British officer was killed in these encounters, the death was referred to as a "murder".) Whole villages and fields of ripened crops were burnt in the interest of bringing the blessings of colonialism to the "ordinary Africans". Taxes were collected (although the method was never officially approved) by means of a number of inhumane methods, including tortures such as rubbing pepper into the eyes and genitals of the recalcitrant. Nevertheless, one colonial officer reported to the Colonial Secretary how happy the natives of Sherbro were to pay their taxes and how it stimulated the heretofore lazy natives into activity.

Families were disrupted by the seduction and rape of wives and young girls by soldiers and police. One clergyman was moved to address a protest to the Dean of Chester:

> When such cases are reported to officials I am told the only reply is, "These men have no[t] their wives, hence they cannot help the wrong". Oh, you good Englishmen, God bless you! You do not know the tears your countrymen have caused to shed here. You do not know that there are multitudes of maids whose hearts have been made to break who would that they could blow the wrongs in the trumpets beyond the sea which all England might hear and know the folly of their countrymen (Letter from M. Massaquoi, CO267 / 451 / 10926 / 1899).

In the same year (1899), typical of many such cases, 288 square miles of land were ceded to a foreign syndicate for £10 plus £20 ground rent per annum. Since the method of agriculture practised (slash-and-burn) requires a great deal of land, it is fair to ask what happened to the persons displaced from these areas. Moreover, the area from which Dr Kalous's records of cannibalism come was one of the main sources of slaves. Although slave trading had been made illegal, the records of this period include many reports of persons caught attempting to slip their captives out of the country by land and by sea. All this and much more are part of the "truth" of this period of Sierra Leone history.

Dr Kalous includes documents which describe the operations of one trader, S. B. A. Macfoy, who is a good example of how traders extended their interests in remote areas. Macfoy pretended to be an agent of the British Government and managed, by bribes, presents, and threats, to gain control over large areas of land. When one chief objected to Macfoy's tactics, Macfoy and his men destroyed four villages. A note to the Colonial Secretary in 1892 reported that trouble in the area was being caused by Macfoy who had asserted that he had bought up the country and was giving villagers notice to quit by sending an armed party to intimidate them.

The author has not included this case-study in order to illustrate the conditions existing at the time of the cannibal cases he reports. Instead he included it because, although Macfoy was a British subject and a settler from the Freetown colony, he was black, and as such was an example of the exploitation of blacks by blacks.

Proving such suffering of "ordinary Africans" under their traditional rulers is central to his case:

> In spite of the superficially "progressive" appearance of contemporary historiography, it is in fact reactionary in the worst sense of the word. In failing to condemn, fully and loudly, some of the "traditional" customs which for any ordinary European or American would simply be crimes . . . this historiography, of course must side with the traditional ruling groups . . . it presents the African past as a sort of political Utopia where Chiefs and people closely cooperated and shared common interests, including, of course the anticolonialist spirit.

Who were these "traditional rulers" who were involved in the excesses reported by Dr Kalous? Were they, in fact, *traditional* rulers? The principles of indirect rule are well known, but the mechanics of practice seem to have eluded Dr Kalous. The political unit in southern Sierra Leone was a village. The influence of a chief rarely extended beyond a small area surrounding his village, and at most would include only a few villages. Inter-village warfare, probably resulting from disruptions caused by slavetrading (since the small population precluded competition for land), kept the chiefs from extending their influence very far or for very long. Moreover, even today an examination of traditional political structure reveals that there were many internal checks on the exercise of authority, suggesting that before colonial intervention, chieftaincy was an institution with very limited powers.

However, when the British subdued an area, they supported "cooperative" chiefs and artificially extended their power over areas and peoples who owed no loyalty to them. These appointees were regarded as usurpers or "Uncle Toms". Part of the paraphernalia of their new office under the British included staffs of office and sometimes even gold crowns. The position of such rulers bore little resemblance to the traditional ruler. Respect for their position rested solely on the power of the colonial government. It is hardly surprising that such a situation gave rise to exploitation, subversion, competition, and a scramble for power. That accusations of cannibalism were an expression of this political rivalry is clearly shown in many of the documents:

> It was found that Foray S[illegible] had been endeavouring to [illegible] himself independent of [illegible] Caulker and had brought [illegible] charges of cannibalism ag[ainst] him . . . in order to spoil [illegible] ker's crown and turn the D[istrict] Commissioner's mind against [illegible] They accused him [Chief Ba[illegible] Bunjay] of being a "[illegible] leopard" but in reality they [illegible] him as they said he had sold [illegible] country. . . .

Even the theory that cannib[alism] could not occur without the k[now]ledge of the chief may have [illegible] an invention of an interpreter [illegible] the government:

> Going on this theory some [illegible] those implicated in the c[illegible] were told that if they would [illegible] out the chiefs concerned [illegible] should themselves go free. [illegible] this opportunity for their [illegible] they could not fail to name [illegible] or more chiefs and some of th[ose] named were executed.

Many of the documents selec[ted] by Dr Kalous clearly demonst[rate] that people who were being [illegible] for murder were actually con[fess]ing to crimes committed by [illegible] natural means, or witchcraft:

> I eat human flesh and I a[illegible] sister of the Chief. . . . I used [illegible] eat little bits of my brother fr[om] time to time but did not a[illegible] to kill him. . . .
>
> It was a bush leopard but [illegible] one was inside it. Pa La[mina] was inside the leopard. Pa La[mina] himself was lying down at [illegible] time. Immediately the leop[ard] was clear of the shimbeck, [illegible] Lamina's spirit left the leop[ard] and returned to Pa Lamina. [illegible] I was sleeping . . . but as a fo[ur-]eyed person I can see all t[hat] takes place in my vicinity wh[ile] I sleep. . . . It is the duty of fo[ur-]eyed people to give evidence [of] what they know against [illegible] people.

In traditional society, deaths w[ere] usually explained in terms of [illegible] personal animosity. The high [rate] of infant mortality demanded [ex]planation, and the death of a c[hild] invariably resulted in someone be[ing] accused of being a witch and hav[ing] "eaten" the child. The belief [that] one can leave one's body dur[ing] sleep and (together with a socie[ty] of witches) consume another p[er]son is widespread, and confessio[ns] such as these may be heard [in] Sierra Leone even today. It is [in]deed ironic that the British w[ho] made it illegal to accuse anyone [of] witchcraft executed people who [con]fessed responsibility for de[aths] which had occurred by na[tural] causes. Moreover, many accusat[ions] and confessions were themse[lves] obtained under coercion:

> Then the report came in [illegible] after very severe flogging tw[illegible] my sons Lamina and Santigi [illegible] "called my name" and admi[tted] they knew I was a leopard w[illegible] . . . . I confessed because [my] sons were being flogged and [ill-]treated to make me confess. [illegible] It is worse for a man to see [his] children ill-treated than to [be] flogged himself. . . . I do [not] blame my sons for calling [my] name, it was the only thing t[hey] could do to save themselves.

If we then conclude that a [illegible] number of cases included in [Dr] Kalous's book were based on [illegible] accusations, fabricated for poli[tical] or economic reasons, that many [accu]sations were made under [illegible], and that many others [illegible] fact cases involving witch[craft ra]ther than murder, did can[nibalism] (or ritual murder, as it [was de]scribed) ever actually take [place in] Sierra Leone? There is [no evi]dence to support the theory [that can]nibalism was an innovation [caused] as by the chaos accom[panying] slavery and colonial expan[sion, and] not part of the ancient [illegible] past, as some would [argue. H]owever, there is no doubt [that the] conditions of this period [provided] the fertile soil for the [practice] to thrive.

[If] ritual murders did occur [and] Europeans were not the vic[tims, w]hat did the practitioners [hope to a]ccomplish? The answer [may be] found in Dr Kalous's own [selection] of documents. "Canni[bals in] Sierra Leone do not kill [their vic]tims to eat them, but to [make] a medicine which will [increase] their wealth and influence, [and] give them power over their [enemies]. The symbolism involved [is not un]like that of the Christian [communi]on ceremony:

> [If you] want to be a Paramount [Chief] with the Government you [must] join the society and eat [human] flesh.

[It is l]ikely that the colonial pre[sence] encouraged the practice in [other] subtle ways. In Sierra Leone, [as] in many other parts of [Africa], the native population [believed] that Europeans were canni[bals. How] else to explain their irre[sistible] power and the origins of the [many] objects they possessed? [The mak]ing of powerful medicine [from hu]man flesh was believed to [be a w]ay of achieving the power [of the] white man. Furthermore, the [way in] which the government dealt [with it] encouraged their prolifer[ation. P]eople who agreed to confess [their c]rimes and to provide evid[ence a]gainst others were often [allowed] to go free without punish[ment]. This was in contrast to the [tradition]al method of dealing with [crimi]nals. as Governor Probyn [wrote]:

> Witchcraft and cannibalism have always been regarded as the greatest crimes . . . and no penalty or punishment has been regarded as too severe for a person proven to be a cannibal. . . . It is only [now] because of the fear of the Government, that any of those who have confessed themselves to belong to the bands of cannibals are allowed to live in the country unpunished.

Deportation was also a method of dealing with those who were implicated but against whom there was not enough evidence for hanging. If, as some believe, the practice entered Sierra Leone from the south and was confined to a small area, it may have been extended by the deportation of persons who had knowledge of such powerful medicine to another part of Sierra Leone.

Although the government attempted to deal with cases of alleged cannibalism in a quasi-legal fashion (many cases were heard by persons not legally qualified to try capital crimes), the procedures by which the cases were handled are suspect. Usually there was no mutilated corpse to prove a murder had been committed and contradictory evidence as to whether or not the person alleged to have been killed had ever, in fact, actually existed. Even when a body had been examined by a colonial officer there was often a question as to whether or not the person had died of wounds inflicted by a knife or a wild animal. There were also problems of language and of translation. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, George Page considers these problems:

> I could quote numberless instances in which Sierra Leoneans of the lower classes as well as Natives attach a meaning and a significance to English words which are entirely foreign to them. . . . I have always felt the dilemma which Judges must be placed in in accepting the uncorroborated Testimony.

There were those who acknowledged the inadequacies of the British legal procedures to deal with the nuances of cannibal trials, and on more than a few occasions British officers not only tolerated but were said to have encouraged the "country fashion" method of dealing with such matters. Tongo players were specialists who could discern persons guilty of witchcraft or cannibalism. Their judgment was final, and the persons they pointed out were burned alive immediately. Some of the documents in Dr Kalous's collection give evidence of occasions when Tongo players were told in advance whom they were to "find" and given bribes to ensure that the political opponent was selected and burned.

What of the contention that colonialism managed to stamp out these heinous crimes? Had Dr Kalous continued his search of the archives he would have discovered that the problem persisted throughout the colonial era. Moreover, since independence a number of such cases have been heard in the courts. In 1974 several persons were executed for "ritual murder". Does such evidence prove, as Dr Kalous implies, the basic inferiority and barbaric nature of African society and suggest that even today Africans are unable to cope with independence? More likely it suggests that the social, economic, and political conditions which give rise to such accusations and, sometimes, even to the performance of such crimes still exist to some degree in Sierra Leone. After all, independence did little to alter the basic conditions of economic dependency and the extremes of inequality which it established.

If scholars are guilty of anything in relation to present-day African politics, it is of failing to engage in detailed studies of the societal conditions which give rise to violence wherever it exists and on whatever scale. Certainly the need remains for a comprehensive study of this period of Sierra Leone's history.

[Th]e self-sufficient Basongye

[By Je]an La Fontaine

[ALAN P.] MERRIAM:

[An Afric]an World

[The Baso]ngye Village of Lupupa [Ngye]

[illegible] Indiana University Press [illegible] £6.25.

[An Amer]ican colleague remarked [that Ala]n P. Merriam's book was [like a d]oughnut; I was puzzled, for [I foun]d no rich centre of juicy [content], until I remembered that [America]n doughnuts are rings of [dough]. The hole in the centre of [*An Afr*]*ican World* is clearly the [total] lack of an intellectual [aim. P]rofessor Merriam states that [his aim] is to provide an ethnography [of a] village in Zaire where he [studied] music for twelve months in [illegible]. It is his contention that [music c]annot be understood outside [its soci]al context. Given that con[tention], one would expect that he [would h]ave acquainted himself with [what is] said in allied disciplines [dealing] with society and culture so [that his] analysis, if not that of a [professiona]l social or cultural anthro[pologist], would accord with the [views] of the specialists. But there [is no ev]idence in his book that he [has do]ne so. His bibliography [shows a]n indefatigable combing [of sour]ces for information on the [Basongye]—most of it of doubtful [value]—but nothing to show that [he is aw]are of the available theore[tical f]rameworks within which [his data] might be organized and [analy]sed. His account is reminis[cent of] the most old-fashioned and [colonia]l records of village life [that we]re provided by untrained [observers] of the African scene many [years ago].

[The] book is a continuous narra[tive on] a variety of topics, loosely [grouped] into chapters referring to [physical] surroundings, metaphysical [surrou]ndings, and human surround[ings]. The first chapter is a dis[cussion] of the origin and history of [the peo]ple of Lupupa Ngye which [uses] historical records, origin [myths] and recent oral tradition. [Professor] Merriam cites the work [of Van]sina but appears to have [learnt] little from him of the sophis[tication] required in handling such [sources]. He appears to con[clude th]at the villagers have lost [all k]nowledge of their history during the wars and slave-raiding of the nineteenth century. Ignorance of the way in which myth relates to history and of the social functions of myth cannot be excused in an ethnography published in 1975.

The chapter on physical surroundings ranges from a discussion of climate and vegetation, through agriculture to food and property relations. It is hard to get a clear impression of the material basis of society for one is given rather vague statements of generalities.

Where there are figures they raise questions rather than answer them: thus the average income is said to be 1,027.50 francs, annual taxes were on a sliding scale between twenty and 1,020 francs according to production, with some additions for those who have bicycles, or extra wives. Yet we learn that "men spend an average of slightly less than 500 francs per month" while their income over an average month is about 350 francs. Women also spend more than they get; spending about seventy francs and receiving about forty. Clearly debt is an important part of village life; yet we also learn of relatively massive savings: the maximum was 17,000 francs and "even less wealthy families had 4,000-5,000 francs in reserve". Whence comes this wealth, given that the village does not have "any strong external trade", whatever that may be?

A similar lack of consistency appears in the other chapters, together with a naivety, even ignorance, which is perhaps more shocking to a British social anthropologist, for Professor Merriam writes for that sector of American cultural studies which has never been aware of developments in British anthropology. However, even judged by its standards, this is a poor attempt.

The final chapter of the book might seem to indicate that it is written for a non-professional audience for it examines a nebulous idea, "the quality of life", with which anthropologists have not been concerned since the nineteenth century, because it involves moral evaluations which tell one more about the writer than the subject of discussion. This chapter is no exception and manages also to contradict a lot of the evidence given earlier in the book. The people of Lupupa Ngye were compelled to grow cash-crops and pay taxes, they were subject to colonial administration, were integrated into a cash economy and joined a political party. Yet Professor Merriam writes: "Lupupa Ngye is virtually a self-sufficient entity, which neither requires outside goods and services nor shares a system of political governance with others." There is ample evidence in the book to show that this is not so, even if one were to ignore the Belgian colonial regime, the end of which, in June 1960, was the cause of Professor Merriam's departure from the Congo, some months earlier than he had originally intended.

Professor Merriam plans to write two further volumes on his work in Lupupa Ngye: one on music and another on "the other arts". Those interested in these topics should not make the mistake of assuming that this first volume is adequate as an ethnography establishing the social context in which the other data may be discussed.

The Muslim geographer and traveller Ibn Battuta (b 1804) journeyed more extensively than any other known medieval traveller (Marco Polo included). He set out from his hometown in North Africa when he was twenty-one, and kept almost continuously on the move until he was nearly fifty. The scope of Battuta's travels was remarkable even by today's standards; his itinerary included the Near and Middle East, the Crimea, the Balkans, southern Russia, India, China, Spain, and vast areas of the African continent. *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa* (99pp. Rex Collings. Paperback, £1.95) is based on his account of the journeys he made in East and West Africa. Said Hamdun and Noël King collaborated in the translation, which is from the Arabic text of Defrémery and Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (1893-95).

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Ripples in the gene-pool

By C. D. Darlington

JEAN HIERNAUX:

The People of Africa

217pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £5.

The properties which human groups all over the world have in common are owed in part to our common animal origins and in part to our non-animal characteristic of having been selected preeminently for what we call our skill, wit or intelligence. This evolutionary process is thought by some to be due to a feedback effect, the result of man's inventions having created man's environments. It culminated in the development of agriculture which spread over the earth in the past ten millennia. In this history Africa has a special position. For man certainly arose in Africa, even, we may say, in tropical Africa. But agriculture certainly did not. It arose elsewhere. Man, or rather a few tribes of men, escaped from Africa a million or so years ago to colonize and populate the other five continents. And, it seems, he never returned to tropical Africa until with difficulty he made his way back, bringing agriculture and a little civilization with him.

It has taken us the past century and a half to put together the reasons for this paradoxical course of events. The first reason is that for most animals and plants their original home is also the home of their most damaging diseases, a principle painfully illustrated by man and Africa. Again most animals and plants in their evolution develop a genetic capacity to resist such established and localized diseases. But in man and in Africa the effects of this resistance have been deleterious. For example, as the president of Sierra Leone observed when he created the Order of the Mosquito, this fly deserved to be honoured since it had kept the white man out of Africa. So it has. But it also kept the black man in Africa until the white man took him out.

The working of these rules is what gives the study of African peoples, and of our relations with them, its immediate and startling importance. It is therefore of particular interest to have a book now on tropical or negro or, as the author of *The People of Africa* calls it, sub-Saharan, Africa. Especially since Jean Hiernaux, a French anthropologist, is aware that all our sciences will be needed to solve its problems; and that measurements of skulls and recording of social customs ought to be related to one another and to a lot of other things besides: to the evidence of history and of languages, the methods of genetics and their use in the understanding of medicine and agriculture.

Several difficulties confront an author who undertakes such a task as this. The first is that each of these diverse subjects is purveyed by practitioners armed with a formidable vocabulary or jargon which is partly foreign to any one author, and most of it ill designed to illuminate any but the narrowest field. One way of getting over this obstacle would have been to make a glossary of definitions and stick to them. I have found this method helps the writer as well as the reader. Another way would have been to use plain words. It is surprising how well they work sometimes: tribes and races, ancestry and breeding groups, heredity and habitat, migration and hybridization. M Hiernaux has chosen a different course. Instead, straightaway, on page one, he plunges headfirst into gene-pools; there he is at once struggling with his biotopes, manipulating his mating circles, splitting his genomes, assigning his taxa. His people do not migrate like us: they undergo a "gene-flow". They do not hybridize like us: they "exchange genes" perhaps along with "items of culture". And towards the end come those "quantified data" which we are bound to expect. But unhappily his thirteen tables of skull and body measurements have no evident connexion with what went before.

Take him away from the jargon with which he sprays his text and M Hiernaux can show a flash of judgment. He is not afraid of admitting that eugenic practices occur in Africa. He sees well enough that the names given to "species" of fossil men are a kind of confidence trick, a device for hiding empty spaces; they imply a discontinuity which no one supposes to exist. He also recognizes that societies in Ruanda, Burundi and Madagascar have an organization by caste. But here he stops short. He fails to ask what caste means in these places or anywhere else in Africa. Are they gene-pools perhaps or mating-circles? This leaves him in a quandary when he comes to speak of the "Iron Age, presumably introduced by Bantu peoples". It is a pity that neither "Bantu" or "Iron" is in the index. But what matters is the question of how this introduction, so vital for Africa, came about? Surely it was the caste of smiths who attached themselves to tribes all over Africa and have until this century carried the working of iron from one end of the continent to the other.

Again M Hiernaux notes the reactions of the abnormal haemoglobins with malaria. But he does not note the principle that all movements in Africa have been restricted by disease and that that restriction has increased with the density of populations, that is with the development of agriculture. Nor does he appear to notice that crops and cattle have their own racial characters (or would he call them gene-pools?) which, in Africa as elsewhere, allow their movements to be historically traced. Such racial characters are connected with, indeed adapted to, those of their farmers and herdsmen. Because of this the people and the crops and the stock cannot be shifted about independently of one another.

So much this book reveals of the intellectual stumbling blocks to the study of man: the difficulty of seeing the general connectedness of all human activities due to their interactions in evolution. But the emotional stumbling blocks also make themselves felt: the pain of recognizing that intelligence, invention, behaviour and hence culture, all have a genetic component, a hereditary element. They are subject to selection, adaptation and evolution. People do not like to admit that the working of their brains depends on a structure which is inherited. They do not like to admit that this structure has a common basis which the study of animal and human behaviour since Darwin has established.

M Hiernaux trembles repeatedly on the edge of this precipice and repeatedly turns away. "Human populations", he writes, "adapt to new conditions more by changing their behaviour than by modifying their gene-pool". Is this a terrible dilemma we or our ancestors have been facing all unawares? Or has M Hiernaux been trapped in a false antithesis? Or has he allowed a forgotten germ of Lamarckian thought to propagate in his unconscious? One cannot tell. Again when he tells us that in evolution "selection was . . . active in increasing intellectual endowment" we think we know where we are. But, sixty pages later on, he asks if it is still active today. The question, he answers, is "debatable" and prudence forbids him to debate it. Prudence, or the editor of the series, for she has forestalled her author's doubts. "Thinking", she tells us (parenthetically but firmly) in her preface, "is a question of culture and not genetics." Presumably this will go for Europe and Asia, too, when the promised [illegible] volumes in the series appear[illegible]

M Hiernaux would perh[illegible] dismiss Darwin and Gal[illegible] lightly. And, teaching in P[illegible] must know about Alfred Bi[illegible] his intelligence measureme[illegible] therefore contents himself [illegible] broad incontestable sta[illegible] "We may surmise", he tells [illegible] though there were some [illegible] "that a large part of the d[illegible] in sub-Saharan Africa is [illegible] genetic variations." But this [illegible] all. "The influence of the p[illegible] environment [on this diver[illegible] of paramount importance." [illegible] could deny these opinions? [illegible] who could attach any mea[illegible] them?

Our author's achievement in [illegible] genetics to advance the st[illegible] primitive people is, I fea[illegible] appointing. But the disappoi[illegible] itself teaches us somethin[illegible] which we should thank him [illegible] that when we take a funda[illegible] science resting on experim[illegible] the narrow world of the labo[illegible] and try to apply it to nature w[illegible] to begin by translating its la[illegible] for the uses of this wider worl[illegible] task demands an effort of r[illegible] ing, of questioning, of sepa[illegible] and combining, an effort as [illegible] ful, as painful and as pro[illegible] as that of the original founde[illegible] good deal of such rethinki[illegible] already been done for genetic[illegible] the past seventy-five years, [illegible] known to our author its r[illegible] may be, but in publishing a w[illegible] expensive as this he should [illegible] appear to be a generation [illegible] date.

The chocolate crop

By Lucy Mair

SARA S. BERRY:

Cocoa, Custom and Socio-Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria

240pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £7.

In *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-Economic Change* Sara Berry follows the trail of which Polly Hill was the pioneer: the study of an African cash crop on the ground, in terms of family histories and details of the source and organization of labour, the distribution of effort between food and cash crops, the terms on which land has been acquired, and other matters not to be found in blue books. Not that Dr Berry neglects statistics; her observations on the four villages that she studied in depth have a solid foundation of quantitative data.

As Polly Hill did in Ghana, she shows how in Nigeria African institutions, so far from inhibiting enterprise, were readily adapted to the development of small-scale capitalism, something that neither writer finds regrettable. She has much to say that is illuminating about the way in which kinship and neighbourhood obligations can be invoked on a basis of unspecified reciprocity to enable new farmers to live before their trees come into bearing, and also gives a valuable account of the later employment of wage-labour and the forms that it takes.

Most interesting, however, is her discussion of the changes in rights to land that have accompanied its commercial use. West African governments were concerned with the recognition of African land rights to a much greater degree than their counterparts elsewhere in[illegible] continent, and there is a wea[illegible] documentation for the Yoru[illegible] give a background to Dr Berry[illegible] temporary study. It is [illegible] universal in Africa for the [illegible] right of an original landhol[illegible] be recognized by some kind o[illegible] ment or service from ou[illegible] using the land. Dr Berry, s[illegible] eschewing attempts to invent [illegible] descriptive terms, calls this a [illegible] tion of landlord and tenant, [illegible] same time showing how the [illegible] *ole* payment is coming to rese[illegible] a rent calculated on the eco[illegible] value of the land but yet is [illegible] long way from it. Some [illegible] farmers still give their lan[illegible] no more than presents of f[illegible] harvest time. Some make an [illegible] cash payment, but this has [illegible] fixed at the same amount for [illegible] years.

There are differences be[illegible] districts. In Ife, possibly b[illegible] cocoa farming began there [illegible] time when commercial att[illegible] were more widespread, lan[illegible] took a token *ishakole* until [illegible] came into bearing, but [illegible] demanded a fixed quantity of [illegible] which they would sell themse[illegible] In the period of high cocoa [illegible] this was enough to make some [illegible] lords wealthy, but no adjus[illegible] was made when prices fell[illegible] landowner is tending to los[illegible] status as a petty chief, settlin[illegible] putes among his tenants and [illegible] erally "cherishing" them, to [illegible] word from another part of Afr[illegible]

British officials set their [illegible] against the sale of land, whic[illegible] not recognized in Yoruba c[illegible] They were always afraid th[illegible] controlled sale would create a [illegible] less class—just what one sch[illegible] economists have recently r[illegible] mended as the essential for "[illegible] opment". But such transa[illegible] are bound to appear as soo[illegible] there is competition for land[illegible] all that any government can [illegible] refuse to recognize them. The[illegible] be disguised under the rule [illegible] the sale of trees is allowed; a [illegible] sale transfers all the rights [illegible] have practical value, leaving [illegible] the claim to *ishakole* in dou[illegible]

Dr Berry takes a sceptical [illegible] of the widely popular theory [illegible] of the neocolonial economy, accordi[illegible] which resources and power a[illegible] creasingly concentrated in [illegible] hands of the urban elite, wi[illegible] inevitable consequence [illegible] growth of a rural proletariat [illegible] the need for a revolution [illegible] condition of any progress. [illegible] recognizes that, in the field o[illegible] own study, increasing scarci[illegible] good cocoa land could lead [illegible] competition for control over [illegible] rights between traditional [illegible] holding groups, lineages or [illegible] ical authorities. But divisions [illegible] these lines would hardly be[illegible] sions of socio-economic clas[illegible] this a further polarization [illegible] be necessary.

. . . militiae cingulum . . . (p. 94)

New knights receiving belt and sword (London, British Museums, MS. Roy. 20D, XI, f° 134 v° (13th century).
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THE FLEMISH NOBILITY BEFORE 1300

Dr. Hist. E. Warlop

Preface by
Dr. R. C. Van Caenegem, Professor at the University of Ghent

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Sense and sincerity

By Roger Scruton

F. R. LEAVIS:

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264pp. Chatto and Windus. £4.

[illegible]s characteristic of Leavis's [illegible] that every sentence—[illegible] premise, conclusion, or [illegible]diate step—is as much as [illegible] a declaration of outlook. [illegible] foreign to his method and to [illegible] to draw conclusions from [illegible] innocent analyses: every [illegible] and every word is bent to [illegible] of expressing ("intensely", [illegible]ibly", "pre-eminently", [illegible] moral and aesthetic vision [illegible] he has made his own. This [illegible] at least partly new) book is [illegible]ception to the rule. While [illegible] conceived as some kind [illegible]llenge or response to the [illegible]orary philosopher (and in [illegible]lar, according to a footnote, [illegible] answer to the "philosophy-[illegible] Cambridge intellectual" [illegible]ad asked Leavis what he could [illegible] in elevating the intelli[illegible] Blake above that of Swift), [illegible]ving *Principle* is in fact, like [illegible] recent works, a prolonged, [illegible]cious and yet obscure affirma[illegible] the values which a technolo[illegible] society is now expected to

[illegible] its putatively authorita[illegible]racter, the book adds little [illegible] of exposition or develop[illegible] Leavis's previous publica[illegible] None the less, it demands [illegible] deserves comment, on two [illegible] First, because it deli[illegible] addresses itself to the con[illegible] philosopher, purporting [illegible] that philosophy, at least [illegible] now conceived in England, [illegible] have the central place in [illegible] ideal university that he [illegible] still wish to accord to the [illegible] English. Secondly, because [illegible] a criticism of *Four Quar-*[illegible] criticism which attempts to [illegible] the weakness and ultimate [illegible]pability of Eliot's vision in [illegible] poem. Sandwiched between [illegible] two discussions we find re[illegible] the fine essays from [illegible]—"Thought and Emotional [illegible]", "Imagery and Movement", "Reality and Sincerity", [illegible]ich would alone justify [illegible] reputation as one of the [illegible]portant, and also one of the [illegible]hilosophical, critics of our

[illegible] however, somewhat strange [illegible] these essays reprinted yet [illegible] even stranger is the author's [illegible] anywhere, to mention that [illegible] were published some thirty [illegible] He prefers to treat them [illegible] integral part of the present [illegible] an illustration through de[illegible] analysis of the generalities [illegible] in the earlier (the [illegible]sophical") part. There results [illegible] discontinuity of style. The [illegible] section is written in an ab[illegible] cluttered and private idiom [illegible] comes oddly from a self-[illegible] protector of the English [illegible] while the *Scrutiny* essays [illegible] tersely written and entirely [illegible] conveying a far more [illegible] sense of the author's [illegible] than could ever be [illegible] from the earlier parts.

[illegible] spends some time attacking Wittgenstein, and also (less [illegible]) Russell. Now it is cer[illegible] true, as Leavis implies, that [illegible]porary analytical philosophy [illegible] little to contribute to [illegible] criticism, nothing to say [illegible] the plight of contemporary [illegible] and only insignificant com[illegible] to make on the vulgarization [illegible] destruction of our language,

> [illegible] shabby equipment always deteriorating
> [illegible] general mess of imprecision of feeling.

[illegible] perhaps only an analytical [illegible] who could now have [illegible]frontery to defend Utilitarian[illegible] as a serious account of the [illegible] life, or who could be so [illegible] as to think that the prob[illegible] self-identity would be solved [illegible] could show that "person" is [illegible]ly-resemblance" term. And [illegible] is justice, in Leavis's pass[illegible] to Russell: it is surely [illegible] Russell—like his illustrious [illegible], J. S. Mill—presented the [illegible] of the philistine in elegant [illegible]-confident accents, sweeten[illegible] the ugly reductivism of liberal [illegible] with a cultured "philo[illegible]" outlook.

[illegible] Russell was only continuing [illegible] ancient English tradition, [illegible] of empiricism, which [illegible] been able to describe [illegible] distinctive in human experi[illegible] able to leave a place in its [illegible] vision of man for his[illegible] culture, tradition and the ful[illegible] characteristic of the moral [illegible] is the childish common-sense [illegible] free-thinking Anglo-Saxon [illegible] disturbs Dr Leavis, but if this [illegible] survives in English philo[illegible] it is partly because of Russell [illegible], partly because of Austin and his school, yet emphatically not because of Wittgenstein. For Leavis to direct so many of his remarks against Wittgenstein—seeking to elevate in his stead, as paradigms of the "relevant", thinkers like Michael Polanyi, Stanislav Andreski and Marjorie Grene—shows a great misunderstanding.

Of course it is true that Wittgenstein's thought finds expression only in "linguistic analysis", and that he was not given to any but arcane and elusive references to the "darkness" of our times. But Wittgenstein had a sensibility that was not mere cleverness, which expressed itself in a style that was capable of conveying ideas with life and immediacy, and which united precision of thought with a sensitivity to emotional resonance that is surely unique among all philosophers and not just among those of the linguistic school. It is this which elevates the final refutation of the Cartesian view of mind (a refutation which Leavis applauds but does not, as he should, attribute to Wittgenstein) above the level of a merely formal proof, and gives to it the quality of a vision. That vision is a haunting and eloquent one, and to have seen its force is to have glimpsed, in Wittgenstein's philosophy of mind, a path out of the desert of empiricist and utilitarian thought.

In fact Wittgenstein offers an account of human experience which promises to make sense once again, as the Idealists made sense, of man's being in the world, and of his existence as a cultural, historical and moral figure. But Leavis—whose criticisms seem to rely on an uncomprehending dismissal of the vocabulary of the *Tractatus*—seems not to have appreciated the difference between Wittgenstein and his philosophical contemporaries. And yet if philosophy has not led to the acquisition by its students of genuine standards, why should we blame Wittgenstein for that? Certainly we do not blame Leavis for the poverty of academic English, or for its failure to provide any bastion against the mediocrity that has swamped the channels of popular communication and now threatens to swamp our universities as well.

We are told that Wittgenstein, in contrast to Marjorie Grene or Polanyi, is not "useful", which is to say that he does not provide any phrase, word or formula with which neatly to encompass the values that Leavis wishes to urge on the modern man. Polanyi and Grene, however, do provide such phrases, and Leavis quotes them often. But it is almost entirely phrases that he quotes, and all the complexities of argument that would be needed to establish an illuminating position—and that includes the position of Leavis himself—are left out of consideration as "irrelevant". What, after all, does philosophical thought amount to for Leavis? "All three passages", he writes (referring to brief quotations from Collingwood, Polanyi and Marjorie Grene), "in their different ways register the conviction—the impelling principle, for each of their authors, of his thinking—that 'life' is a necessary word."

The trouble is that what Leavis attempts to sum up in that phrase is a thought far more complex than anything to be found in the passages he quotes, a thought which underlies much of his most penetrating literary criticism, but which he has never succeeded in expressing in wholly adequate words. Perhaps it is impossible how to do so. As he puts it:

> Modern English . . . represents drastic impoverishment; the assumptions implicit in it eliminate from thought, and from the valuations and tested judgments that play so essential a part in thought, very important elements of human experience—elements that linguistic continuity had once made available.

That conception owes much to Eliot, and reflects the tradition of Idealist philosophy from which Eliot himself learned so much. But it is expressed unclearly, and demands a philosophical exegesis.

True, no light will be cast on the problems that interest Leavis by formal semantics, or by the theory of illocutions, or by whatever other fashionable technicalities might happen to have seized the imagination of the philosophical world. And it may be, too, that there is some significance in the fact that, while philosophy contains, in this way, whole branches that are devoid of the human significance that Leavis demands, there could be no such dead branches of English, English being so defined by Leavis that it must necessarily coincide with the realm of serious values. But it does not follow that his own position could not, or should not, be stated in philosophical terms.

On the contrary, a clear statement of Leavis's position would be one that tells us precisely what it means to say, for example, that the assumptions implicit in modern English represent a drastic impoverishment in the experience of English speakers, or that the present corruption of our language is connected essentially with a corruption of consciousness, an inability in the popular mind to embrace the quality of experience that was once made available to it by Shakespeare, or Bunyan, or Dickens or Blake. But to say what such statements mean is to do philosophy—philosophy as Wittgenstein among many others has conceived it. And the position taken up by Leavis—the position, to put it crudely, that our consciousness is created by our language, that our feelings have precision only in so far as our language has precision, and that the precision in question has nothing to do with mathematical or scientific exactitude but rather reflects our whole ability to enter into meaningful commerce with the world—that position belongs to a philosophical standpoint infinitely more subtle than anything Leavis has discovered in Polanyi, Andreski or Marjorie Grene.

It is true that Leavis does not produce any general statement of his views; he has no universal system to which literary criticism could be added as a mere confirmatory appendage. Indeed, in a well-known controversy with Wellek, he expressly denies that such a system (a system of "value judgments" as modern philosophers might simplifyingly put it) is necessary: a critical judgment can be established, and indeed must be established, through a response to the particular case, and the perception of intrinsic qualities and connexions that are made in that response. Leavis's elaboration of that idea must surely be recognized as of fundamental importance in criticism. However, this emphasis on the particular response is by no means alien to philosophical analysis, but leads to the establishing of conceptual connexions of precisely the kind that might feature as the conclusions of a philosophical argument.

Thus Leavis shows, in the discussion of Hardy's "After a Journey" here reprinted, that sincerity in literature is not simply a matter of the poet telling the truth about himself. Sincerity is a property of the whole manner in which the poet's feeling is expressed, and is inseparable from a detailed attention to the outer world, and a concrete realization of the objects there presented. Sincerity therefore necessitates thought, is incompatible with sentimentality, and reflects a mode of understanding of the world which, while not of a "scientific" kind, is none the less more important to a man than any understanding that a scientific training might have brought to him.

Now these connexions—between sincerity, reality, thought and emotional quality—are not merely connexions of fact. It doesn't just so happen that the sincere expression of emotion coincides with an attention to, and realization of, attendant circumstances, or that a sentimental emotion is one that outruns the control of any justifying thought. As John Casey pointed out in *The Language of Criticism*, Leavis's conclusions here are, if true, necessarily true; he is establishing something about the concepts of sincerity and sentimentality, and the connexions that he points to must be fundamental to any serious philosophy of mind. It is precisely such connexions that form the substance of the later parts of the *Philosophical Investigations*, and it is likely indeed that Wittgenstein would have approved of an analysis of the concept of sincerity that makes so close a connexion between genuineness of emotion and the quality of expression.

However, the parallel that most readily suggests itself is with the Idealist philosophy of the nineteenth century, the philosophy that so influenced T. S. Eliot and which finds poetic expression in the *Four Quartets*. In his analysis of sincerity Leavis—as he rightly realizes—is going against the whole Cartesian and empiricist orthodoxy, which assumes sincerity to be merely a matter of correspondence between inner and outer, as though the inner life could be complete in itself and yet all the same not achieve successful expression. On the contrary—and we can see this view again and again in Leavis's early criticism—the inner life is constituted by its outward expression, so that any corruption in the form of expression must bring with it a corresponding corruption of consciousness. There is nothing to the human mind that is not revealed in the elaboration of characteristically human behaviour, and the importance of language, of tradition, of recognized institutions and the rest, is that they determine the quality of our consciousness without being merely ancillary to it. Such a view was, of course, central to the philosophy of Hegel, and it was a view which seemed to provide greatest hope to the thinkers of the nineteenth century, as they sought for a philosophy of human experience with which to resist the crass naiveties of Bentham, Godwin and John Stuart Mill.

In the light of all that, it is of great interest that Leavis should now consider it incumbent on him to show Eliot to be, as he puts it, a major poet but very much a "case". A naive reader might have thought that *Four Quartets* contains the most persuasive possible statement of the philosophy upon which Leavis has always surreptitiously relied. Now, in *New Bearings* and *Revaluation* Leavis was for the most part concerned with the *quality of expression*, and hence with the character of the emotion expressed. His concern was to show how faults of form and idiom correspond to shallow and trivial perceptions, and how poetic strength is indicative of deep and serious feeling. On that score, as one cannot fail to recognize, Eliot will always pass muster; and Leavis makes it clear in the third section of this book that if Eliot is a "case" it is largely *because* he passes muster: he satisfies the standards of sincerity, reality, seriousness and the rest.

But there is a crucial failing. Leavis seems wary of saying what one might have expected him to say, namely that the failing is one of "intelligence"; however, it is certainly true that the usual contrasts—with Shakespeare, Blake and D. H. Lawrence—are very much in the forefront of his mind. Sometimes, too, one is tempted to think that Leavis will not accept the *Four Quartets* because they seem to him to expound a philosophy which is actually *false*. "Eliot's affirmation", he says, "is not coercively entailed in the way he supposes. . . ." But of course it was never suggested that Donne or Herbert or Vaughan had actually to *prove* their metaphysics in their verse: why, then, should one ask the same of Eliot?

What Leavis seems to mean, however, is not so much that the metaphysical assumptions are false, but that an acceptance of them—in contrast, let us suppose, to an acceptance of the philosophy underlying *Pilgrim's Progress*—is at the same time a denial of certain fundamental values, the values of "life", "creativity" and so on that we find exemplified in Shakespeare, Lawrence and Blake. It is possible to doubt that Leavis really succeeds in establishing this charge. For one thing he does not discuss Eliot's philosophy in any detail. Consider the lines:

> Words, after speech, reach
> Into the silence. Only by the form,
> the pattern,
> Can words or music reach
> The stillness, as a Chinese jar still
> Moves perpetually in its stillness.

"It is astonishing", says Leavis, "that a 'practitioner' whose genius manifests itself in its practice as a rare intelligence about the language in which he works should, obviously without self-suspicion, exhibit so grave an unintelligence here. What, when is it said of words ('after speech'), we may ask, does 'reach into the silence' mean?" For Leavis the passage has no true coherence and proceeds by a merely associative movement, the implications of which (for example, that words and music are importantly similar) cannot be accepted.

A philosopher might suggest a rather different interpretation. For there is an interesting difficulty that faces the Idealist conception of experience. It is not enough to say that the forms of expression create the possibilities of feeling, and therefore that a disciplined use of words is the manifestation of genuine and controlled emotion. For most emotion is not accompanied by words. Therefore, if the Idealist vision is to be coherent, it must be that a proper understanding of language brings with it, for whatever reason, a corresponding harmony of behaviour.

It might be suggested that Eliot gives poetical expression to such a theory in the passage quoted. For he seems to imply that words, after they have been spoken, none the less "reach into" (that is, take hold of and modify) those parts of our consciousness that exist in silence; and they impose order in that their "form" or "pattern" is conveyed to our unspoken experience. The "pattern" here might represent the enduring, inherited values through which words master emotions and make them accessible to consciousness. In the acquisition of such a "pattern" emotion, which in its uncomprehended form can exist only as an anxiety and a burden, becomes instead a living proof of our continuing self-identity. Thus through emotion we reach a stillness which is also a movement, a place where the soul is untroubled without being unmoved:

> as a Chinese jar still
> Moves perpetually in its stillness.

The word "moves" suggests—to me at least—another meaning, the meaning of "words move, music moves"; namely that *we* are moved by these successful achievements of expression, to share in them, so that our feeling is changed and mastered in the act of understanding expressions made available from another source. It is thus that the activity of the poet—the "purification of the dialect of the tribe"—is continuous with the search for order that selfconsciousness will always demand.

Perhaps, then, the difficulty of

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creating poetry from the cultural debris of our time is one with the difficulty that ordinary selfconsciousness must face, in a world alien to the conceptions which have determined its identity. If that is so, then, as Idealist philosophy has always emphasized, the aesthetic enterprise and the moral task are ultimately one and the same.

The passage suggests another Idealist theme. It is not only words that form, develop, or undo our consciousness. Music may have a similar status, so too may a Chinese jar. Indeed, all the successful distillations of selfconsciousness with which history presents us lead to an attempt to understand and sympathize, to seize the Hegelian "Idea" which gave to such expressions not only an aesthetic but also—and in the same act—a moral significance as well.

Philosophically the idea is a bold one, but it can hardly be dismissed as unserious. In reflecting on it, however, one is reminded of how much Leavisism seems wedded to the criticism of literature, and how much it relies on concepts that have no obvious application to the other forms of art. The Leavisite's "Great Tradition" — the tradition without which there would be no modern consciousness as we English-speakers know it—is one filled entirely by literary men, and by writers of English at that. In the poetry of Eliot, however, not only Baudelaire and Dante but also Wagner and Beethoven play a part in the formation of perceptions that are, for all their complexity of historical reference, entirely proper to their place and time.

Even when he is not overtly hostile, Leavis seems reluctant to admit that such eclecticism could be poetically valuable. If a passage recommends itself it is most often because of that vigorous use of language which Eliot is supposed to have inherited from the great tradition of English speech and English verse. Thus Leavis says of the lines,

Out at sea the dawn wind
Wrinkles and slides. . . .

that "the 'wrinkles' and 'slides' are Eliot, but we might very well say that they come to him from Shakespeare, and if they come, in a sense, from Shakespeare they came *to* Shakespeare from the multitudes of those who had spoken English before him". As a matter of fact (and it must surely have been pointed out before now) Eliot's language is reminiscent of the line

The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls

but clearly Tennyson, not being part of that tradition which gave to English its unique vitality and expressive power (since the uncontrolled feelings in Tennyson's verse *must* be tantamount to a laxity in his use of words) could not, for Leavis, have had any such important influence. It is, one might say, a metaphysical impossibility, dictated by the very nature of a living tradition as Leavis conceives it. Here we see another point where Leavis's criticism follows the dictates of a tacit but ambitious philosophical idea.

In general, it seems, Leavis's purpose in this long and interesting essay is to force on the reader the sense of a confrontation of philosophies. Eliot, for Leavis, is against life, while Leavis is concerned to make "the contrary—the fiercely rebutting—positive affirmation". But what does that affirmation amount to? The constant insistence that "'life' is a necessary word", or that Blake had more to say to us when he claimed that "Jesus was an artist" than Eliot could ever achieve through his examination of spiritual possibilities, is ultimately unsatisfying.

The alternative which Leavis refers to is seriously underdescribed, and acquires what content it has only negatively, through the rejection of Eliot. Having no taste for the Baudelairean sophistication that leads Eliot to give full elaboration to a state of mind even in the act of tacitly withdrawing from it, Leavis seems to take every line of the *Four Quartets* as an utterance of doctrine. For example, the lines

Quick now, here, now, always—
Ridiculous the waste sad time
Stretching before and after

must be an expression of Eliot's philosophy, a philosophy which does no more, therefore, than emphasize the epiphanous moment at the expense of an enduring struggle for Life. But is that right? Perhaps we ought not to read *Burnt Norton* as we would read *Little Gidding*. For it is possible to approach the *Four Quartets* in such a way that the first three are only exploratory in tone, the true commitment being postponed until the climax of the last.

After all, it is the hidden laughter of children that rises with that "quick now, here, now, always", and those hidden children exist only in our "first world" to which we have returned by following the "deception of the thrush". The moment itself will acquire its value (its "pattern") only later, when it is brought into relation with tradition and history, "now and in England". To insist, in the face of Eliot's mature development of that theme, on the unexplained "creativity" and "life" which Eliot's philosophy is held to deny is perhaps also to follow the deception of the thrush, to identify oneself too closely with the hidden children for whom the problem of consciousness has not yet been fully posed. To that solution one might wish to offer, as Leavis would put it, a "judicious but emphatic no".

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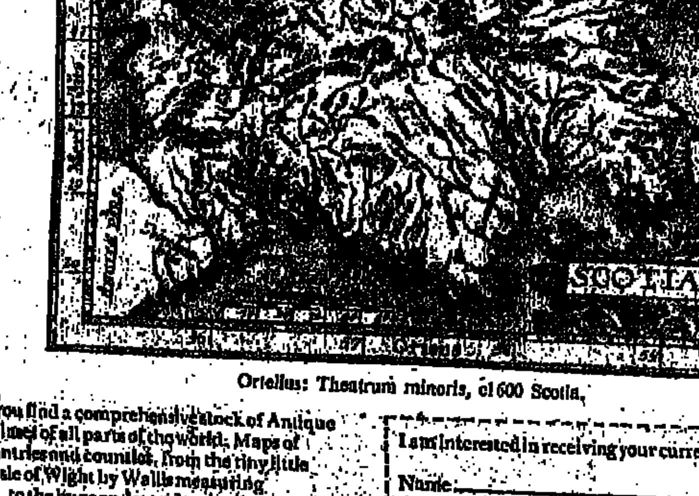

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Plato Neoplatonized

By C. B. Schmitt

The Letters of Marsilio Ficino
Volume 1
248pp. Shepheard-Walwyn. £6.

Marsilio Ficino was at the very fountainhead of some of the most characteristic and influential aspects of the Italian Renaissance. He perhaps more than anyone else was responsible for popularizing the writings of Plato and other writers of Platonic inspiration for a very wide range of readers in his own and later centuries.

Born in the Tuscan village of Figline in 1433, his early education seems to have been a rather conventional Aristotelian, medical one. He came to Florence as a young man and soon came into the Medici circle. At the same time he fell increasingly under the spell of the newly discovered Platonic and Neoplatonic writings. In 1462 he was given use of the Medici villa at Careggi and provided with the necessary manuscripts for a deep study of Plato and the Platonists of later centuries. In those pleasant surroundings there gathered around him a group of kindred spirits to form the so-called Platonic Academy of Florence. During the remaining years of his life he translated into Latin not only all of Plato, but all of Plotinus as well as other Neoplatonist writings.

The historical importance of this accomplishment would be difficult to overestimate. Though a few dialogues of Plato had been accessible in translation before, Ficino gave his contemporaries access to the full range of this treasure-house of ideas. Moreover, he wrote substantial synthetic works of Platonic inspiration, notably the long *Platonic Theology*, as well as extensive commentaries on several of the dialogues. He was thus the first since antiquity to have access to a wide range of Platonic writings and provided an interpretative framework for that material which exerted an enormous influence on later Renaissance culture. Indeed, he can be said to have been chiefly responsible for the penetrating influence which Platonism gained in Renaissance and post-Renaissance literature, art, philosophy, and science.

Ficino's central position in the flowering of Renaissance Platonism was early appreciated by historians—Burckhardt, Symonds and others give him an important place in their story. But it was only in the 1930s that careful, detailed studies of all aspects of his life and works were begun, primarily by Paul Oskar Kristeller, who adds a preface to *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*. Since that time a great deal of new material has been brought to light with new discoveries still being made into the present year.

Critical editions of the *Platonic Theology*, Ficino's most important systematic work, and of his commentary on the *Symposium* have appeared, and a new edition of his commentary on the *Philebus* is to appear shortly. Various works have also been translated into several modern languages.

It is therefore very welcome that an integral translation of Ficino's *Letters* should now have been initiated by a group identified on the title-page merely as "members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London". This first volume contains an English translation of Book I of the *Letters*, which includes approximately a quarter of the personal letters which Ficino himself began collecting in the 1470s and which were printed for the first time in 1495. The letters give an insight into his personality and circle of friends which could never be gained from reading his other works. Included in his circle of correspondents were many of the leading lights of Medician Florence. In addition to letters to several of the Medici themselves (Cosimo, Giuliano, and Lorenzo), there are others to men of the stature of Bessarion, Landino, and Poliziano.

They are mostly of a personal and philosophical nature, and we get little direct information about the day-to-day political affairs which have attracted the attention of many contemporary historians. When political affairs are dis sed, it is usually in a very theo tical and wholly Platonic wa in Letter 78 to Piero del N entitled "On the Duty of Citizen".

Much more characteristic are numerous letters to Giovanni Ca canti, one of Ficino's favourite ciples. These take up fam Platonic themes such as love, friendship, Ideas and the Di Mind, and the nature of happin Many of the letters reiterate w can be found in other of Fici works, but is here often presen in a pithier and more pers fashion. The collection inclu several quite substantial episle such as that in praise of philoso to Bernardo Bembo, and another divine frenzy addressed to P grino Agli—which functioned doctrinal treatises in the circle the Platonic Academy and justly famous.

The letters in this volume from 1457 to 1476, a period dur which Ficino was largely busy w his translations. The deep conc with everything Platonic is evid throughout and we find little refl tion of Ficino's earlier Aristote phase. Indeed, the letters sh clearly the dominance of Platonic-Neoplatonic synthesis in mind and Pythagorean, Herme and other elements are very mu in the background. What he was to fuse certain aspects of Platonic tradition with Christian in a way which was immens attractive to numerous success in the next centuries down at le to Cudworth and the Cambrid Platonists. In doing so he ga pride of place to what E. Tigerstedt has recently called "T Neoplatonic Interpretation Plato". That is, the Plato wh emerges from Ficino's pages is idealized and systematic one, mu different from the Plato produ by the equally Platonic traditi of Academic scepticism which no place in Ficino's synthesis.

Ficino's world as displayed he is one with few problems. At Medici's expense he is living good life surrounded by the natu beauty of the Tuscan hills, all the best manuscripts of Greek a Latin literature are at his dispo and a whole string of amiable, in ligent and compatible friends are constant companions. Savonar the French invasion, and the fall the Medici all lie in the future.

The translation itself genera reads well and seems to follow original quite closely and accurate This is not to say that there are problems. Ficino's letters have extremely complex textual traditi and the thorny questions surr ing them are far from being solv The translators have collated one the best manuscripts (Riccardia 797) with the very defective, easily accessible, Basle edition. A result they have an improved text work from, but obviously it is f from being a critical one. The solution is probably a useful exp ient and certainly far less time-c suming than establishing a prop critical edition (which is rea called for at this stage).

Moreover, the dating of letters presents serious problem Most of them are undated in printed and manuscript texts the translators have not tried date them. On the other hand, so are dated, but differently various manuscript and printed tious (up to four different dates the same letter!). The translat have not attempted to resolve perplexing state of affairs oth than by following the Riccardia manuscript when it deviates fr the Basle edition. To make matt worse they nowhere mention problem, nor do they give any in cation of whether the dates print are old or new style. Sin the letters are to be read for philosophical content rather th their relation to Florentine affa most readers will not be troubl It should be noted, however, in general the dates given are to be relied upon.

But it is good to have Ficin letters made available to a mu wider audience. While they cann claim to be of as great an inter as the correspondence of Erasm for example, they can be read w profit and give a valuable insi into the intellectual life of Medic Platonic Academy of Florence.

Blue-collar country

By Alex Keyssar

ANDREW LEVISON:
The Working-Class Majority
319pp. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan. $8.95.

st three decades after the d World War, the working rarely offered any serious al challenge to American s and American liberalism. Democratic Party, housing both ed labour and middle-class ities, was the assumed al representative of most can workers, and substantial ic growth eased many of the s and discontents that had d during the Great Depression. The post-war decline in the se of the left appeared to e the long-standing liberal ption that class boundaries in New World were too porous to ue sustained conflict between e who lived on different sides tracks.

d many liberal spokesmen, the 1950s and 1960s, pro that the political assimilation of the labour movement was d by an unprecedented ic and social assimilation of rking class. Not only was individual mobility, but as a whole was prosperous, g to the suburbs, and increas indistinguishable from the class—at least the lower class. The era of poor in l workers had come to an To be sure, poverty persisted ghettos and rural back, but white urban workers contentedly digesting their an ever-expanding pie.

e late 1960s and early 1970s, , young workers began to great dissatisfaction with jobs, and labour appeared to " away from liberalism and the right: some union staunchly defended the n War, and workers defected numbers to George Wallace Richard Nixon. The McGovern generated not only a gap hostility between middle-class s and many unionists, and ican strategists envisaged an ing conservative majority that include significant segments working class. *The Working-Class Majority*, by Andrew Levison, response to those events and to the partial breakdown of ance between labour and the ing of the Democratic Party. ison, a college graduate who some years doing blue-collar is now a research associate at Martin Luther King, Jr, Center Social Change in Atlanta. ; his book is an attempt to e and bridge the gap between s and labour. *The Working-Class Majority* is a peculiar and synthesis of extensive in scholarly studies and in personal experience: it is tourist's guide to the world blue-collar worker and a political and intellectual . Addressed to the general , written simply if not always ly, the book is untheoretical, empirical, and very tive.

ally, *The Working-Class* contains two sets of arguments, and the first, a systematic on prevailing "myths" the American working class, more persuasive. Those simply stated, are that blue-collar workers form a rapidly-declining minority in the United post-industrial service , that workers are affluent a bourgeois lifestyle, and they tend to be more conservative and more racist than members of the middle class. What is able is that such ideas are w men but beliefs that are by many Americans and ssed by academic commentators.

Levison begins his assault by ing out that the much-heralded of the United States as a predominantly white-collar society is from statistics that utilize ing occupational categories. ollar workers form a minority labour force only if all engaged in service and occupations are excluded and s and women are grouped to. As Mr Levison notes, this ollar category does not accord "commonsense" definition term and omits janitors, , hospital attendants, watch and a host of other "menial low-paying" lines of work.

a category does demonstrate declining importance of manu s, but it is hardly an indicator size of the working class. Mr 's own exegesis of the 1970 reveals that "sixty per cent American men still work in ally rote, manual jobs". ment and the women who their households—many of hold low-paying clerical and sales jobs—comprise the "working-class majority". Although the occupational structure is shifting towards a greater preponderance of genuine white-collar positions, most Americans will hold blue-collar jobs for at least another generation. And even as late as 1969, 61 per cent of American workers were unskilled or semi-skilled.

Upon close inspection, the affluent worker myth also disintegrates. In 1970, only fifteen per cent of working-class families had an income that matched the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "affluent" budget of $15,950. Sixty per cent of working-class families had total earnings below the level of an intermediate BLS budget ($10,670) that assumed the possession of a refrigerator that would last for seventeen years and one used car that would last for four years—and that allotted a married couple one trip to the movies every three months.

Even this "shabby but respectable" standard of living was unattainable by a majority of working-class families, and nearly one third of the working class lived in government-certified poverty. As Mr Levison points out, the income gap between blue-collar and white-collar workers is approximately as great as the gap separating all blacks and all whites.

Indeed, key chapters of the book are devoted to the differences, both on the job and at home, between the lives of the middle class and the lives of those who perform rote, manual labour. "Most workers have to put up with a range of very concrete conditions . . . which most middle-class people can't even imagine and certainly never have to tolerate." Although Mr Levison is quick to acknowledge that there are no typical jobs or typical workers, he evocatively describes work that is dull and work that is arduous, as well as the rigid supervisory control, authoritarianism, and fear of physical injury that accompany blue-collar jobs. The middle class is not exposed to brown lung or gas and fume poisoning; nor, as Mr Levison points out, are most white-collar workers obliged to labour in sexually segregated environments that generate and reinforce a particular form of sexist behaviour.

They also have greater job security. In 1969, for example, a year in which monthly unemployment rates were not particularly high, approximately one fifth of all operatives, labourers, and construction workers were idle at some point during the year: this was more than double the figure for those who held middle-class positions.

Despite the real-wage increases achieved since the Second World War, "blue-collar workers are still caught up in a web of economic insecurity and persistent scarcity". In 1969, two thirds of all American families could not, without going into debt, afford tuition and living expenses for a child at a public university. Nearly half of the American people could not afford a two-week vacation that cost thirty dollars a day for an entire family. Mr Levison punctuates his analysis with simple facts like these, with anecdotes and personal stories. He surveys the everyday discontents and frustrations encountered by working people—from the presence of freeways traversing their neighbourhoods to the absence of efficient grievance procedures on the job. Few of the individual facts are new or startling, and the analytic categories are admittedly rough, but the portrait, cumulatively, conveys much of the meaning of class.

Differences in occupation, income, status, and power generate marked and decisive differences in "the quality of life", not just in the quantity of possessions. The easy acceptance of myths about the contemporary working class is, among other things, a sign of the isolation of workers from their more affluent fellow citizens. "The truth is", Mr Levison observes, "that working-class people are shadowy figures to most middle-class people."

This isolation and misunderstanding, he claims, have also generated misperceptions regarding the politics of workers. Although the most publicized indicators of working-class politics in recent years have been the Wallace vote and the attacks on anti-war demonstrators by construction workers, *The Working-Class Majority* argues persuasively that such conservatism has been exaggerated and misunderstood. Unions and union leaders were found on both sides of the Vietnam debate, and the available data from opinion polls and referenda suggest that workers were somewhat more inclined to oppose the war than was the middle class.

Racism is hardly foreign to the white working class, but formal studies, particularly those done by Richard Hamilton, indicate that, in the late 1960s, there was no significant difference between the attitudes of non-South workers and their more prosperous neighbours. (In the South, skilled workers, but not operatives, labourers, or service workers, displayed greater hostility to the aspirations of blacks than did members of the middle class.) Mr Levison deplores the persistence of racism among workers and unions, but his sharpest barbs are reserved for intellectuals who have attempted to pin the badge of discrimination upon workers. Carpenters' unions, he acknowledges, have been extremely exclusionist: the percentage of black union members is only slightly higher than the percentage of black faculty at most northern colleges. Mr Levison does not attempt any simple sketch of the political opinions of workers; indeed, he is acutely sensitive to the variations, ambiguities, complexities of such opinions. His contention is merely that workers are hardly as conservative as the myths have claimed and that labour unions, in general, are major lobbyists for progressive legislation.

If such is the case, how then can the Wallace vote and the Nixon landslide be explained? Mr Levison's second major argument begins with this question, and his answer, in brief, is that the defections were spurred by errors in liberal strategy, that labour abandoned Democratic liberals because those liberals had first abandoned labour. Linking his social analysis to the political events, he claims that liberals, believing the myths about the working class, ignored the genuine discontents of the blue-collar majority and, in some instances, even threatened working-class interests. Liberal domestic programmes, on housing, education, and equal employment, for example, aimed at aid for blacks and the poorest whites at the expense of other workers. In foreign affairs, meanwhile, labour was treated with condescension. Although a greater proportion of unionists than college graduates voted for George McGovern, many workers expressed their anger at an unresponsive leadership with an electoral shift to the right. Unfortunately, the book never explains why the shift took that direction—but the absence of an organized left may be explanation enough. In any case, according to Mr Levison, this behaviour at the ballot box did not reflect a deep-seated conservatism or changes within the working class but was rather a response to changes in the Democratic Party. In consequence, a progressive majority can be reconstructed if liberals recognize their mistakes, promote the interests of the working class, and forge a new coalition with both white and black workers.

There is probably much truth in Mr Levison's analysis of the political developments of the late 1960s and early 1970s, but his obvious sincerity and dedication mask a few soft spots in the argument. It is, for example, difficult to believe that mere error led liberals to design school desegregation programmes that placed much of the burden on the white working class rather than the middle class. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that mere error and isolation led middle-class progressives to accept myths about the working class in the first place. The major shortcoming of the book is that it never explains who these liberals are, where they are located in the social structure, and why they swallowed a faulty mythology. They appear as an undifferentiated mass of good intentions, and Mr Levison assumes, without argument, that the concrete and ideological goals of middle-class progressives are congruent with working-class interests. He never considers that the satisfaction of workers' needs, the development of the social equality that he desires, might entail real sacrifices and opposition on the part of those liberals with whom he wants to ally. The book offers convincing evidence that liberals in the Democratic Party do need the solid support of labour, but it is less clear that labour needs them. Perhaps liberal political strategy in recent years was not simply an outgrowth of mistakenly believed myths but rather an expression of the same interests and needs that led to the acceptance of those myths.

Such questions loom large in the curious final pages of *The Working-Class Majority*. Here Mr Levison, for the first time, glances at a more distant future, steps beyond the perspective of the engaged reformer preoccupied with immediate, concrete issues. He envisages a world in which industry and society will be democratized and the rigid distinction between manual and intellectual labour will be dissolved. No man or woman will be "just" a manual worker for an entire lifetime, and there will be a revolutionary change in that "structure of authority which concentrates all the power and decision-making in one group". The real needs of blue-collar workers will be the "central engine of progress", moving history towards "the fulfilment of the democratic ideal". The words echo more of Eugene Debs than of Edward Kennedy.

Mr Levison ignores that echo. In other industrialized nations, the terms of popular political debate would compel the proponent of this egalitarian vision to discuss both capitalism and socialism. But Mr Levison rarely uses the word "capitalism", and socialism is not mentioned until the next-to-last page of the book where it is dismissed—gently, without hostility—as an inappropriate model for progress in the United States.

Mr Levison never questions and therefore never argues that liberalism is compatible with his vision of a fully egalitarian society. He thus plants himself firmly in a tradition of American political and social thought that recognizes the importance of class but minimizes the potential for class antagonism, that demands social justice without labelling injustice a systemic product. Like his Progressive predecessors early in the twentieth century, Levison assumes that if middle-class liberals are shown evidence of a social problem, they will find or accept the proper remedy. Prior to publication, long excerpts from his book were printed in *The New Yorker*; widely read, sandwiched between advertisements for Steuben glass and Tiffany jewelry, his moving analysis of working-class life may already have begun to debunk some popularly held myths. Whether such debunking will lead liberal readers towards an advocacy of working-class demands is another—and larger—question.

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BODLEY HEAD

TLS Commentary

Short and sharp

"A man may build himself a throne of bayonets, but he cannot sit on it"—this uncontestable if double-edged epigram of Dean Inge's introduces *The Bayonet Book* (503pp. Written and published by John Watts and Peter White, available from 58 Stonewood Avenue, Hall Green, Birmingham 28. £17.50 plus £1 for postage, packing and insurance). This is a book for weapons freaks, military historians and all sound citizens who believe in collecting as a hedge against inflation; militaria, as the authors point out, are rising in price all the time. Apart from the due attention paid to the firearms of which bayonets are, strictly, only the accessories, what the authors chiefly provide is page after page of vertical naked blades—over a thousand photographs, with accompanying commentary.

The first known reference to a military bayonet is mid-seventeenth-century and French. Jacques de Chastenet records that his men were armed with bayonets with handles one foot long and blades of the same length again; these combined the virtues of pike and sword and were jammed into the barrel of muskets. Early bayonets were all of this "plug" variety; but the system had obvious disadvantages, and by the end of the seventeenth century most countries had adopted "socket" bayonets: the blade was attached to a metal tube which fitted outside the barrel.

Naked blades vary. The eighteenth-century Danish ramrod bayonet, made for ski-troops' sharpshooter muskets, is as long and thin as a giant bodkin. Nineteenth-century German "sawback" bayonets look like breadknives; some of their presentation bayonets, with etched blades and jewelled grips, are works of art. General Mondragón of Mexico ordered from Switzerland in the 1890s bayonets shaped like cricket bats. The strangest in the book is Spanish and made to fit a percussion carbine. It has a double-edged wavy blade, seventeen inches long, scalloped all the way down on each side like the edges of a jam tart. It would do terrible things to your insides.

By far the largest sections are devoted to Germany and Britain (with the United States, Austria and Belgium as runners-up). The German section includes what are known in the trade as "ersatz" bayonets. They were produced quickly and cheaply in the First World War; the makers were given no specifications, speed being of the essence, and some being made in railway repair workshops. They were made to be adjustable to different types of captured rifle. In England in the 1880s there were complaints of bayonets that ignominiously "bent" when used against the Arabs in the Sudan; the blades were too long for their weight. The trend towards shorter blades continued; the book quotes a report of 1924:

> As regards length of blade for killing purposes, the Physical Training Staff . . . came to the conclusion that a six-inch blade was sufficiently long to deal with the most thickly clad of our enemies—potential or otherwise. The most thickly clad was taken to be a Russian in winter clothing. . . .

The proposed length of eight inches, the report said, would be "amply sufficient for killing purposes", and the proposed new shape of the blade "excellent for penetration and also for withdrawal". Today's bayonets are—not inappositely—nasty, brutish and short.

Hugo Welshman, "Supreme Commander of the BBC", as portrayed by Marc—one of the cast of thousands encountered by Felicity Fark on her innocent's progress from obscurity to superstardom. Other equally fictitious characters whom she meets as she soars aloft include Frank Pakamac, Lord Fruitcake, "a humble Peer", Russ Kennel, "a controversial film-director", André Prevalent, "a boy musician", and two fashionable scribblers called Jolly Molly and Jilly Silly. Felicity is this year's counterpart to Peregrine Prykke, last year's Candide of the literary world—like P grine, she sprang from the teem brain of Clive James, and made debut with a melodious twang the ICA International Poetry F val. Her adventures, as chroni by Mr James in 1,800 lines of ve have now been published in a pact and elegant volume which hope to review in a forthco issue of the TLS—The Fate of city Fark in the Land of the M (98pp. Cape. £1.95). The text is tooned with numerous Marc ings, many of them showing him the top of his form.

Stonehenge kit

Stonehenge can look prosaic. Plain views of it have occurred right through the time span covered by the two adjoining exhibitions, "Constable's Stonehenge" and "Henry Moore's Stonehenge", at the Victoria and Albert, built round Constable's watercolour drawing of 1835 and Henry Moore's lithographs and etchings of 1973 (published by Ganymede last year). There are topographical-antiquarian looks: a plate from Stukeley captioned "a peep into the sanctum sanctorum", a typically bouncy watercolour by Rowlandson, a neat and sunlit one with sheep by Engleheart and an engraving of the "Grand Conventional Festival of the Britons" from a book on ancient British costume. There are early photographs, one with a shepherd (smocked) and one with cycling tourists. Constable's own pencil drawing of 1820 is a plain presentation of the facts. The late eighteenth-century change of sensibility by which Stonehenge was elevated from being merely ancient to being sublimely picturesque is documented by copies (open at suitable pages) of Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* and Gilpin's *Observations on the Western Parts of England*.

In painting Stonehenge Turner and Constable added to old stones and bleak topography light and weather. They dramatized its monumental scale with views which set it against the skyline: one of the Turners shows it in the distance against the sunset; another is streaked with a flash of lightning, there are dead sheep and a dog howling over the fallen body of a dead shepherd. In following the studies that led up to the 1835 watercolour one sees Constable orchestrating the effects of storm clouds and a double rainbow—in the final version a frightened hare runs across the foreground. Acute observation and the controlled directness of the painting stop it from seeming melodramatic.

The Henry Moore prints are romantic-monumental rather than romantic-sublime. They are, in the main, very black—the darkness of storms or nightfall is still about and give a great sense of the density and mass of stone. Some of Moore's drawings of sculptures in landscape establish scale by introducing tiny figures — in one of these plates, too, there are figures against the horizon. This sculptural view of Stonehenge —possible only in close-up, the further away you get the more arch tural it becomes—is seen in exceptionally fine set of photog taken recently by Paul Capon The prints are beautiful object themselves, in the tradition American West Coast landscape tography. Again it is light and ther—although a different sor light and weather, soft flat skie low raking light—that gives d and monumentality to the pi The exhibition as a whole is n conceived: varieties of visual i ination working on a subject still seems able to renew itself.

The Accident

Dear Husband, Please come to me.
Yesterday I fell on these stern rocks
And lie in hospital. I was wrong to walk
Here alone. Please come, for both our sakes.

As I fell I noticed the seagulls above me.
Legs dangling, wings pumping, they yelled
Out of white breast feathers and spotted beaks.
Then their cliff pulled them back. They wheeled

Over the bay of quiet sails and outboard motors,
Over the coarse grass and the pink flowers
And went home. I was a subject
Of these rocks. They loved theirs.

I fell in obedience to a law
Like any weak citizen. Sympathy
Was their metaphor, flesh to familiar stone.
Forgive my clumsiness. Please come to me.

Patricia Beer

Karl Miller

COCKBURN'S MILLENNIUM

'Karl Miller's study of Henry Cockburn (1779-1854), the famous Scottish lawyer and Whig reformer, is—to use Cockburn's own word—a 'memorial' . . . It is when he is dealing with the dualities of Cockburn's character that his book acquires another dimension than that of the 'memorial' . . . He develops his theme with imagination and sympathy, illuminating it with links and correspondences in the prose and poetry, the memoirs and even the medical science of the day. It is in this connection that he touches a deep personal note which gives the book a striking and memorable quality—a dimension that goes beyond scholarship, careful research, and wide knowledge of sources and of the period. It turns a biographical study into an essay in self-exploration, a coming to terms with age, with the experiences of childhood and the impossible nature of the father-son relationship.'

Stuart Hood, *The Guardian*

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Manxmen and come-overs

By Frank Kermode

KINVIG:
le of Man
l, Cultural, and Political His-
and 56 illustrations. Liver-
University Press. £5.

John Wesley arrived in the Man in 1777 he was pleased that most of the people were y serious", and on his return years later they were even his taste, having been, in im, more or less completely ed to Methodism. He there- expressed his happiness that land had been "shut up from rld"; its inhabitants had thus kept plain and artless, "un- d, that is, unpolluted; few are rich or genteel; the poorer part moderately poor; of the strangers that settle them are men that have seen ". In fact he had nothing them except that they spoke a bad habit he sought un- fully to stamp out.

the time of Wesley's visits the Manx industry was smug- an occupation forced upon by the oppressive negligence greed of their English masters. practically their only form of y. They were, and are, re- un-English, and would have liked nothing better to be left, unpolluted and mod- poor, to themselves. The gers" among them in Wes- time were probably absconding s, who became so important island's economy that laws passed to protect them. Nowa- they are English tax avoiders, thought to be essential; the tax rates are adjusted to the of attracting them, but Tyn- cannot compel the Manx to them. Their distrust of the now called the "come- has deep historical roots.

first historical comeovers the Vikings. When you fly island you land where they Ronaldsway, a convenient in the rocky south-eastern They arrived at the end eighth century and stayed Scots ousted them in 1266. ree and a half centuries the Vikings moved in the had been Celtic-Christian and, spoke their own language. Viking occupation put a stop that. R. H. Kinvig's *The Isle*, which is always trying to and in general always suc- in being a bit dull, tells us we are not to think of the as altogether a bad thing; laid down the rudiments of present peculiar system of gov- and of the judicial system, although inclined to be rough not altogether hostile to the of peace. They were them- christianized in the tenth cen- and so brought the Manx back church; but although they accommodated themselves to the of pre-Whitby Celtic reli- was inevitable, at a time papal power was growing fast the water, that the Manx should fall under the influ- of Rome.

fortunes of the bishops of and Man have often struck roughly analogous to those flock. The name of the reminds us of its early Norse (*sodorensis* relates to the Southern Isles or and in the Viking period had to go to Trondhjem to consecrated. Later they were to make the long trip to or Rome. Nowadays the ight, but I think do not, lieved that theirs is the all the diocesan bishops. Smith, remarking on the spirit of Huskisson in draw- pointed attention to the of the new railways, never- insisted that the lesson would fully learnt unless a bishop induced to emulate him, on Sodor and Man to himself. Matthew Arnold's Bishop Wilson was the last would even try to set himself the civil power, or subject to the benign severities discipline, for example whores. (Anyone in this aspect of the activities should not fail to Brown's poem "Catherine to which the poet pre-fixes the bishop's own observations on the fate of this notorious recidivist; the poem itself is so amazing that I quite often look it up in order to reassure myself that it exists outside my own fantasies.)

When the Vikings left the Manx soon forgot about them and resumed the use of their own language, in which remarkably few Norse words survive, though a Norse element survives in place names. The Scots gave way to the English, represented for them by the Stanleys (Earls of Derby) and the Atholls. The island seems to have been thought of as something that could conveniently be given away: Edward II gave it to Gaveston, Edward III to William de Montacute. His son sold it to William le Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry IV beheaded, tossing the property to the Earl of Northumberland and, when he proved traitor, to Sir John Stanley, whose family exploited it for three centuries.

The Manx put up with all manner of exactions and indignities, lacking, it seems, the energy, and perhaps the degree of provocation, of their Irish cousins. Their one national hero is William Christian, Illiam Dhone (brown-haired William). He doesn't, I'm afraid, amount to much as freedom-fighters go, but his story is illustrative, for his martyrdom was a virtually meaningless by-product of English politics and English negligence. The Civil War was scarcely relevant to the concerns of the Manx, but it mattered to the Stanleys, and in 1651 the Lord Derby of the time raised a Manx force to support Charles II. It was easily destroyed in an action at Wigan; the earl escaped, but was captured after Worcester and executed.

Meanwhile his countess, whom he had left in charge of the island, had to cope with a movement, led by Christian, which sought to remedy the iniquitous system of land tenure and to abolish the free quartering of troops—old grievances, but the time seemed ripe. The countess, for her part, was covertly treating with the commander of the Parliamentary force that had been sent to take over the island. Thereupon Christian approached this same officer with a guarantee that the Manx would hand over to him everything except the castles of Rushen and Peel, which were in the hands of the countess, in exchange for a restoration of ancient liberties. The expeditionary force took the countess's forts without difficulty, and Parliament, following the good old royal custom, presented the island to Fairfax.

Christian had used the crisis as a means of getting what he wanted at the expense of the Stanleys, bothering his head no more about his duty as the countess's commandant of militia than she would have bothered hers about any responsibility she may have had to him, or to his countrymen. Unluckily for Christian the Stanleys were reestablished as Lords of Man at the Restoration, and the eighth earl set about punishing the rebels of 1651. Under the Act of Oblivion only persons mentioned by name were excluded from the king's pardon, and Christian was not named, being far too unimportant; but the people who drafted the bill neglected to specify that its powers extended to the Isle of Man. Derby's court therefore condemned him; he appealed to the king, but was shot even before his letter reached London. A rather dreary ballad commemorates this event; by the time I had to learn it at school it was equipped with English words the banality of which constituted another piece of evidence that English and Manx do not mix well.

The late Professor Kinvig, a dedicated Manxman as his name suggests he ought to have been, had nevertheless a soft spot for the English; he treats the Countess of Derby very considerately, and if it is with a gentle enough hand that he traces the progress of the relationship between Man and Westminster in later years.

In 1828 the fourth Duke of Atholl sold the island, for a very good price, to the British Government, and in 1866 there was at last a decent reform of the semi-colonial relationship, though Westminster then argued that the Manx were paying very little for the privilege of being British. It is still arguable that they are paying too much.

Professor Kinvig is a patient guide, strong, so far as I can tell, on such matters as Iron and Bronze Age remains, useful on physical characteristics and the rise and fall of Manx industries. But his book will give no one much idea of what it feels like to be Manx, or even of what the island looks like. Large generalizations about the Manx character can be dispensed with, but one cannot help saying that the Manx, for all their show of independence, have suffered both intimately and publicly from living through the centuries in a somewhat neglected colony. Professor Kinvig was doubtless right to say, in his opening pages, that up to the

Two illustrations from The Isle of Man: *above, "The Calf of Man Crucifixion", an eighth-century carving; below, an Irish bronze plaque of a similar date.*

Bronze Age the Isle of Man belonged to what was "a primary 'receiving' zone of cultures rather than a 'preserving' zone", but later, and especially under the Stanleys, it was, as he also says, isolated and backward. Its cultural disadvantages remain considerable, and include time lag: the clergy had to remain celibate well into the seventeenth century; the birch remains in use to this day.

The modern economy depends on tourism ("the visitors" we used to say) and on tempting absconding Englishmen to bring their money over. This enervating dependence is not entirely the fault of the English. As a boy I used to be told that the rapid decay of the fishing fleets was the direct result of a disastrous migration of herring to other fisheries; but the evidence of this book is entirely against that explanation. The decline from 300 boats in 1864 to nine in 1939 coincides with the rise of tourism, and the development of Douglas for the future satisfaction of the Poet Laureate. Professor Kinvig says the fishing is looking up, but there seems to be only one shop left in London where one can buy Manx kippers, and I imagine that most of the energy of the resident Manx is now devoted to meeting the competition of Majorca and the Costa Brava. It is true that the ravages of tourism are confined largely to Douglas; the countryside, being mostly moor and mountain, is not much exploited. But very nearly half the population lives in Douglas. Even as a child I thought it obvious that it was bad for us to live through the year on the profits of a twelve-week season. The worst effect—prolonged winter unemployment—may have been overcome, but the arrangement must surely still be somewhat lowering, the place given over to foreign revellers all summer, and the society of the unpolluted regenerated every autumn.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the contributions of the island to the general cultural stock are limited. There is, however, a sound tradition of insular scholarship, of which the example best known to the world is probably still P. M. C. Kermode's book *Manks Crosses*. These crosses are certainly the finest works of art ever produced in the island. Some are early Christian, with ogham inscriptions, some—the work of Gaut, who must be our greatest artist—belong to the later Scandinavian period. Some of the Scandinavian crosses look like doodles on the libretto of *The Ring*, but Christian symbols and narratives sometimes appear on the reverse side of pagan crosses. They all had the characteristic Celtic shape, so that the introduction of Roman Christianity in the twelfth century was the end of them. They lasted for six centuries before being condemned by Romanists as pagan.

Most people spoke Manx until the early nineteenth century, but there are now no monoglot speakers, and the language never had a literature. Wilson began the translation of the bible, which was completed by the mid-eighteenth century. The Book of Common Prayer belongs to the same period. Apart from other standard works in translation—*Paradise Lost*, for instance—there is almost nothing. The Manx like to sing but have no music of any importance except folksongs, mostly known in the ruined versions of anglicized collectors.

A long tradition of emigration (again in large part a consequence of English indifference) must enfeeble a culture, and the Manx have had to export not only peasants and miners but many people of talent who cannot be educated beyond the secondary stage. Much as they like being Manx, the islanders do from time to time show some irritation at the measure of privation it entails, and then there is a burst of nationalism, usually accompanied by attempts to revive the language; Aeglagh Vannin in my own youth was separatist but pacific; Mec Vannin, the current movement, is more aggressive, and the anonymous continuator of Professor Kinvig's book mentions it (or them, for the words mean "Sons of Man") with a measure of disapproval, this not being, he thinks, the moment to establish another small nation. Yet their basic principle, that the ills of Man are largely attributable to foreign rule, seems sound enough.

Manxmen *déracinés*, culpably out of touch, as I am, may feel a touch of sadness, perhaps even of guilt, as they read this book. They may also recall much that seems essential to Manx life—the peculiar tightness of the community, the specialized class structure, the un-English sense of kinship, the customs and rhythms of life that have survived tourism and television and Radio Caroline—and want all this written about too, in a very different style. But where are the writers? The record is unpromising; neither Hall Caine nor T. E. Brown was *echt* Manx. The comeover writers of a few years back have all fled to Ireland, where the tax laws are now even more seductive. And you can be sure that genuinely local talent, however small, has mostly emigrated, and lives in London, pretending to be English.

Whether autonomy is the right answer or not, the chances of it are so slight that the nationalists might consider turning their attention to the question of cultural privation. Man is now "in" Europe, at last and presumably for ever within the *limes*. Sodor and Man could now, if he chose, get to Rome in a day, starting out from the Viking landing-place at Ronaldsway. The diocese has a "low" tradition, and he probably wouldn't want to make that trip; but he might be admitted to the House of Lords. Characteristically, he is the only diocesan bishop who is never allowed in.

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell
William Blake
Introduction and commentary by Sir Geoffrey Keynes

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell was Blake's first full-scale attempt to present his philosophic message. Only nine copies of it are known to exist; the one chosen for reproduction in this edition is one of two copies in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The volume has been printed in France by the Trianon Press with an accuracy and delicacy Blake would have admired, and which his readers will treasure. Illustrated £7.50 *Oxford Paperbacks* £2.95 *23 October*

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Mind and Language
Wolfson College Lectures 1974
Edited by Samuel Guttenplan

The abilities to think and to use language are not independent of one another. Only in the twentieth century has it come to be seen that an acceptable account of the nature of this interdependency must be primarily philosophical. The issues surrounding this question are thus among the most important and characteristic of philosophy today, and the seven essays presented here provide a useful starting-point for its solution. £4.25

Oxford University Press

To the Editor

Richard III

Sir,—I must beg leave to correct one or two of G. R. Elton's remarks in his review of Alison Hanham's historiographical study of Richard III (October 10).

If we are to dismiss the various groupings of Richard III's defenders as academic irrelevancies and, possibly, nuisances, it serves no purpose to venture towards the other extreme with bland general statements such as "the mortality rate of the upper classes improved even upon the achievement of the previous thirty years". Quantitatively speaking, that is not true. In specifics, the executions ordered by Richard III are nowhere near so striking as those ordered between 1462 and 1464 by Edward IV, nor those which followed upon the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. Indeed, it can be argued that Richard III (a man who did not avoid murdering children if it served his needs) seems to have been remarkably wary of excessive purges of his aristocracy: Hastings and Buckingham went to the block, but his leniency towards the Stanleys has yet to be satisfactorily explained. At the very least, Richard III demonstrated a capacity for vacillation which does not altogether fit the image of the "determined villain" which Professor Elton, in his closing remarks, insists upon.

If it is possible to examine Richard III dispassionately—which one would think not out of the question for any historian—the anomalies of his career and character demand considerable thought and, as an aid, a grounding in psychology. For every "villainous" move made by that king, he also made moves of stark naivety; for every opportunity grasped, however falteringly, there remained opportunities missed or thrown away. Kings have often died in battle, but surely not with such apparently suicidal determination to do so as Richard III displayed at Bosworth.

Dr Hanham's book should go some considerable way towards resolving the academic entanglement surrounding interpretation of Richard's reign, and might also provide an opportunity for such a dispassionate study as the subject demands.

R. NEWMAN.

Vanbrugh College, University of York, York YO1 5DD.

The American Landscape

Sir,—On the day before you published Henry Hope Reed's letter (October 10) complaining of my blindness, I happened to be looking, as he suggested, at the Palace of Greenwich—not from the Isle of Dogs, but from the far better vantage point of the Observatory terrace. It struck me then that the palace, spread below with the river and the docks beyond, did indeed look not unlike Guérin's paintings of Burnham's plan for Chicago—and how much better the desultory spread of "secessionist housing blocks" across the river would have looked had they been as close packed as the towers of the Chicago loop behind Burnham's Grant Park. That is indeed a view that London cannot equal, but all it owes to Burnham now are the viewpoints on the steps of the two museums; the trees in Grant Park obscure the sight of the lower buildings along Michigan Avenue, and only the taller blocks behind contribute to the powerful skyline. And those blocks were no more put there by Burnham than they are stylistically admired by Mr Reed.

On a point of style, however, he is right and I am wrong. To call those two museums "Beaux-Arts" is a very loose usage from Mr Reed's point of view; would he accept some such form of words as "classical on the Greek model as that term was understood in Beaux-Art circles", since there have never been any other circles in which this lifeless assemblage of copy-book details could have been so understood?

I will accept Mr Reed's adjudication on this point of nomenclature because he is not only, now that Sir Albert Richardson is no longer with us, the last great proponent of 1910-style Beaux-Arts pseudo-classicism, but also the worst case of style blindness around. His persistent use of the word *secessionist* to mean, not the style of the Vienna *Sezession*, but everything since the *Sezession* that he does not like because it is "modernistic", is a classic (sorry!) case of being unable to "recognize . . . different modes", and would have done much to corrupt good communications between architects had anyone ever taken this irresponsible usage seriously.

REYNER BANHAM.

School of Environmental Studies, University College London.

'The Seven Sisters'

Sir,—In his letter of October 3, Mr Sampson seems to assume that the upper echelons of the Inland Revenue authorities in the United States and the United Kingdom are naive to the point of stupidity. He alleges that the oil companies deliberately disguised royalty payments as "income tax", a move which, he says, was resisted by the fiscal authorities in London and Washington. The facts are that these authorities accepted that government "take" in the host countries had become so high following the 50/50 arrangements of the early 1950s that the absence of tax credit was a heavy imposition on the industry. They did not dispute the justice of the tax credit, and the introduction of a general tax did not "disguise" the situation; it recognized it.

The report of the public accounts committee mentioned by Mr Sampson dealt primarily with a different problem, viz, the possibility that trading losses resulting from overseas operations could eventually be set against profits from oil production in the North Sea. This has resulted in changed legislation well in advance of any North Sea profits being earned. However, the right to foreign tax credit continues for the oil industry as well as for other investors receiving already taxed income from direct investments overseas.

FRANK McFADZEAN.

'The Socialist Challenge'

Sir,—Royden Harrison has an extraordinary view of the world if he cannot see that the dazzling success of the Western European economies since the Second World War has indeed shown "how to reconcile economic growth with an advance towards equality without converting saving and investment from private interests into social functions". Which centralized bureaucracy has done better—as regards both the aims?

D. C. DAMANT.

16 Orchard Street, Cambridge CB1 1JT.

Capitalism and Equality

Sir,—May I comment on two letters in your issue of October 3, those of Anthony Sampson on *The Seven Sisters* and of Royden Harrison on *The Socialist Challenge*? I should declare an interest, being employed by an intergovernmental organization whose members (developing countries) are engaged in the supply of primary commodities to the industrialized countries. My interest is in seeing that capitalism survives and economic growth continues, or perhaps I should say resumes, in the United Kingdom, because, if so, it will buy more from my member countries at better market prices than would be the case if it were in a state of economic collapse or under a hard-line socialist regime.

Having been involved in taxation both from the company and the government point of view, I cannot accept Mr Sampson's contention that royalties are "not tax in the normal sense". In taxing extractive industries, governments use a mix of royalties, export taxes, taxes on profits, deductions for investment, interest depreciation, and so forth. All that is part of a total tax package, not always handled quite as well as it should be. Some mining companies in Canada (not one of my member countries) have recently found themselves paying out in total taxation substantially more than 100 per cent of their profits. Perhaps Mr Sampson and Mr Harrison will rejoice at that—I do not.

From my point of view, the class struggle as described by Mr Harrison ("occupations of shipyards and factories . . . successful mass civil disobedience; the miners' terrible revenge for 1926") is "made more intelligible by being called 'paranoid'". The kind of socialist regime that Mr Harrison appears to desire would not tolerate such activities at all. I find myself unable to understand his belief, not at all uncommon among socialists in the United Kingdom, that socialism is concerned with an advance towards equality. Lenin refuted that idea long ago. There is abundant evidence that incomes are more unequal and lower in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe than in the Western industrialized countries. Does Mr Harrison really believe that the miners would sacrifice a large part of their earnings in the interests of an advance towards equality—even within the United Kingdom, never mind internationally?

P. G. L. PARKINSON.

39 rue le Marois 75016, Paris.

'Evelyn Waugh'

Sir,—Angus Wilson (October 3) has devoted a long and thoughtful article to my biography of Evelyn Waugh. I have read it with the greatest interest. I cannot be expected to agree with all his propositions, but one calls for refutation. Mr Wilson alleges that I give too little space to Evelyn Waugh's first two novels. I may have done, but not, as Mr Wilson suggests, "perhaps because they are works which antedate Waugh's Catholicism". This can only be described as bosh.

Mr Wilson has plentiful criticism of my book but I am grateful to him for not drawing attention to my gross misquotation from Tacitus on page 156. I foolishly forgot Dr Routh and relied on memory.

CHRISTOPHER SYKES.

Dorset.

Mistaken Identity

Sir,—Lisbeth Gombrich, who is so rightly praised by W. H. Thorpe for having "splendidly translated" Karl von Frisch's *Animal Architecture* (October 3) should be distinguished from yours sincerely,

ILSE GOMBRICH.
(Lady Gombrich).

19 Briardale Gardens, London NW3 7PN.

'Women of the Forest'

Sir,—In his review (September 5) of our book, *Women of the Forest*, Peter Rivière finds fault with the fact that we gave little attention to the processes and categories of thought through which Mundurucú women apprehend the social world. It was never our purpose to describe how women in that society think. Rather, we took as our task a description of what women do. The omission, then, was one of intent, for we know no more about what goes on inside the heads of Mundurucú women than Dr Rivière does about what goes on inside the heads of the Trio men whom he studied.

There is a considerable vogue among anthropologists for divining the inner logic of their subjects through the analysis of myth, grammar and semantic domains, but most of the product is at the approximate level of sophistication of a district officer's report on "how the natives think". We have resisted this particular brand of inter-psychic imperialism in the old-fashioned faith that methodology will never replace empathy.

YOLANDA MURPHY.
ROBERT F. MURPHY.

Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

'Vietnamese Communism'

Sir,—In his review of [illegible] Turner's *Vietnamese Comm[unism]* (September 19), Dennis Dunc[an] endeavouring to continue a [illegible] which ended several months [ear]lier, joins the millions who [illegible] term "communism" when [illegible] mean "dictatorship". To rew[rite] [illegible] sentence from the review, [illegible] requires little propaganda [illegible] from the Pentagon to convince [illegible] reactionary world that fre[edom] fighters were communists".

The characterization of "[com]munist" activity as cunning, [cons]piratorial, clandestine, oppor[tunist] and cynical is not enlightenin[g] [illegible] such terms are equally appl[icable] to the operation of, eg, right[-wing] dictatorship and big business. [Viet]namese autocrats are as like[ly to] convict themselves out of their [own] mouths as are British fascis[ts] [illegible] American bigots. Single-m[inded] devotion to "Power" (Mr D[uncan]son's capital letter) is as evide[nt in] the leader of a democratic po[litical] party as it was in Ho Chi Minh.

KLAUS LOEWAL[D].

Department of History, University of New England, A[rmi]dale, New South Wales, Austra[lia].

Pseudonyms

Sir,—Your reviewer of my [Dic]tionary of Pseudonyms and [Pen-]names (October 3) listed a num[ber] of omissions (some of which [I] would incorporate into any f[uture] edition) and a couple of proof[read]ing lapses (one of which, M[aria] Louise Ramé for Maria L[ouise] Ramé, he fiercely described [as] mangling). Nevertheless, I [hope] that my whimsical selection [will] please and interest others as [well] as my introduction to it obv[iously] assisted your reviewer.

FRANK ATKINSO[N].

Corner Cottage, Broad Oak, H[eath]field, Sussex.

Sir,—As a writer fascinated by [the] mythopoeic process I suppose [that] I shouldn't interfere with that [pro]cess even when it involves my[self]. In your issue of October 3, in a[n un]signed notice of Frank Atki[nson's] *Dictionary of Pseudonyms and [Pen-]names*, you refer to the [illegible] "failure to list any one of M[ichael] Moorcock's multiple personae". [I'm] afraid I haven't the self-disc[ipline] to let this statement stand, pa[rticu]larly since I make a point of an[swer]ing all readers' letters and wi[th the] increase in the postal rates, [I] find it expensive to reply to [every]one who wanted to know what [my] pseudonyms were.

I have written some twenty [illegible] (admittedly they have often [been] published in three or four indiv[idual] volumes) and do not have qui[te as] prolific output many people [ascribe] for me. I have edited some fi[ve] anthologies under my own nam[e and] one anonymously. I used pse[udo]nyms very rarely in the distant [past], usually for articles and journ[alism] and also wrote for *New Worl[ds]*, as did others, under the nam[e] "James Colvin". I have no [other] published under pseudo[nyms] though three books—an Edgar [Rice] Burroughs pastiche in [three] volumes, a thriller (since rev[ised]), and a collection of short s[tories] (also now revised)—were, for [speci]fic publishing reasons, original[ly put] out under pseudonyms and a[re] currently in print under my [own] name. I have often been tempt[ed to] use pseudonyms for my novel[s] [illegible] opposed to my romances) in [order] for them not to be reviewed [illegible] SF reviewer who then cri[ticizes] them for not being SF, but I [prefer] to stand by what I write, for [good] or ill, and to sign my own na[me] [to] it as a matter of principle.

MICHAEL MOORCO[CK].

51 Blenheim Crescent, L[ondon] W11.

Sir,—In your notice of [Frank] Atkinson's *Dictionary of [Pseu]donyms and Pen-names* (Co[mmen]tary, October 3), you ask the [ques]tion: "What can justify [the] omission of . . . Hermione [illegible] bot?"

A good question indeed. [If] you are referring to the auth[or of] *Chelsea Buns*, the correct fore[name] is Hermia. The British M[useum] *General Catalogue of Printed [Books]* confirms this.

A. C. BU[illegible]

University Library, Univers[ity of] Salford, Salford, M5 4WT.

Representing Rationalism

[I]n the *TLS* for July 4, D. D. [Raphael,] the reviewer of James P. [Ferguson]'s *The Philosophy of Dr Clarke and its Critics*, states [that the]re is evidence that Clarke [collabor]ated with Newton in the [compositio]n of the theological Gen[eral Schol]ium that was added to the [second] edition of the *Principia*". [D]r Raphael, however, does [not say] what this "evidence" is.

[After] extensive research into the [compositio]n and successive revisions [of Newto]n's *Principia*, undertaken [for the] edition of the *Principia* with [variant re]adings published by Cam[bridge] University Press in 1972 [which] I prepared with the late [Alexandre] Koyré), together with my [Introduc]tion to *Newton's Principia* I never came upon any such [evidence] that Clarke or anyone else "collaborated with Newton", [nor] I find in the successive [manuscr]ipt draft versions of the [General] Scholium any sign of such [co]llaboration. The case may [be] different for those more [famous] Queries in Newton's *Opticks* [which] appeared in the Latin ver[sion of 1]706, which was prepared by [Clarke] from the published English [editio p]rinceps of 1702 plus some of [Newton's] manuscript notes and [illegible].

[As for] the concluding General [Scholium] of the *Principia* (first [publishe]d in the second edition, [and] the most celebrated and [most w]idely discussed of Newton's [writings), m]y information as to [any] collaboration would be of [illegible] interest. In Mr Fergu[son's] book on Clarke, however, it [is] said (page 42): "Some [time p]reviously, John Edwards had [claimed] that the references to God [in the] General Scholium had, in [his] opinion, been the joint [work o]f both Newton and Clarke." [Thi]s reference to Edwards's [Brief] Critical Remarks on Dr [Clarke's] Last Papers . . . Shewing [that the] Doctor is as deficient in the [illegible], as he is in Theology [(London], 1714). The comment on [Newton] and Clarke occurs in a [postscr]ipt", and reads as follows: "[I have] observ'd before, that 'twas [Dr. Cla]rke's Notion, that [God] *is [a Rela]tive Word, and a Word of [Domin]ion and Power.* I have since [found] that this is borrow'd from [Crellius], *De Deo ejusq; Attribu[tis]*, [Ca]p. xiii. Who uses the like [argumen]ts to prove it that the Dr. [doth]. In the same Place, *Crellius* [saith], *Dei vox Potestatis impri[mis e]t Imperii nomen est*. But [more]over, I have found, that our [celebr]ated Philosopher and [Mathem]atician, Sir *Isaac Newton*, [hath] taken up these odd Notions, [at the] end of his *Philosoph. Nat. [Princip.] Mathemat. Edit. ult. pag.* [illegible] *Deus est vox Relativa:— [Deitas] est Dominatio Dei*, saith [he. It] is remarkable, that these [words] and what follows were not [in the] first Edition; but Sir [Isaac] and Dr. *Clarke*, having [con]ferr'd Notes together (as ['tis] thought) they have added [them] in the new Edition, tho' [they] are brought in there over [Head] and Shoulders: However, it [seems] it was agreed upon, that [the]se should appear in favour [of th]ose Notions which Dr. [Clarke] had publish'd.

Such a statement is hardly to be taken as serious historical "evidence" of collaboration "in the composition of the . . . General Scholium".

Incidentally, Edwards had a low opinion of Newton's theological opinions: "Who wou'd have thought", he wrote, "that such wild Jargon as this, could come from the Pen of so great a Man, and of so subact a Judgment as Sir *Isaac Newton*, who hath justly merited the Applause of the learned World, for his admirable efforts in *Natural Philosophy* and *Mathematics*?" He added that he "could not apprehend" what Newton had meant.

I. BERNARD COHEN.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

'Messiaen'

Sir,—I am grateful to Wilfrid Mellers for his sympathetic review of my book *Messiaen* (September 12). There are, however, some small but important points which cannot be allowed to pass without comment.

First, he appears to misunderstand the terms functional and decorative harmony. The first of these terms is used in the sense that Schoenberg uses it in the title of his book *The Structural Functions of Harmony*—that is, the harmony which gives rise to the structure and form of a composition. "Decorative", on the other hand, implies harmony which does not generate the structure and has nothing to do with the presence or absence of emotional response. Messiaen's decorative harmony is frequently very sensual, precisely, one feels, because it is decorative.

He also complains that neither I nor Roger Nichols in his book mention Satie among Messiaen's progenitors. Whatever superficial resemblances there may be between passages of Messiaen and Satie, it seems hardly reasonable to claim any aesthetic influence when Messiaen says of Satie's music: "Je trouvais cela complètement inutile et sans intérêt" (*Samuel: Entretiens avec Olivier Messiaen*, page 128).

Finally, I should say that I would not necessarily regard discussion of what Professor Mellers calls "the psychological and physiological effects of music" inadmissible. Such speculative discussion is useless, however, without first establishing the factual nature of Messiaen's musical thought, which was the prime purpose of the book.

ROBERT SHERLAW JOHNSON.

Worcester College, Oxford.

Strange bedfellows

By Charles Davidson

PETER SOMERVILLE-LARGE:
Irish Eccentrics
286pp. Hamish Hamilton. £5.95.

"Why should I not publish my diary?" asked Mr Pooter. "I have often seen reminiscences of people I have never even heard of." Biographers face a similar problem: to write the life of someone nobody has ever heard of may confer immortality, but it is more likely to earn a rejection slip. Peter Somerville-Large has taken the bull by the horns by assembling a cast of unknowns and writing for them a tragical farce called *Irish Eccentrics*.

Here are paraded the mad, the foolish, the feeble and the grotesque, to be viewed for £5.95—considerably more than Dean Swift's servant charged for exhibiting his master, who is to be encountered here. Mr Somerville-Large, who has also written *The Coast of West Cork*, is no great explorer of the hinterland of the Irish mind. He is a showman, a ringmaster, not an analyst, and his book is the weaker, the more inchoate, for it. An introduction adorned with quotations from Bishop Berkeley, Margaret Powell and V. S. Pritchett brings one no nearer to deciding how eccentrics are to be defined before they are displayed, for Mr Somerville-Large's own definition of one who steps outside the normal pattern of our existence is a piece of ad hoc argument to justify the inclusion of giants and the long-lived (showmanship again).

Of course, in English eyes, it may be enough simply to be Irish to give one a headlong start in eccentricity. Just as it was said of Oscar Wilde that his wit, brilliant in London, would have been unnoticed in Dublin, so an Irish eccentric has to be more thorough in his eccentricity if he stays in Ireland. Thus George Moore, never the most conventional of men, became positively frantic in order to make his mark in Dublin, while Oliver St John Gogarty went so far in eccentricity as to become a senator of the Irish Free State. Had he stayed in London and, by chance, ended in the House of Lords, it would have been a sign of respectability, not eccentricity—for as Ogden Nash pointed out, "In America, a rich butter-and-egg man remains a rich butter-and-egg man, or at best an honorary LLD of some obscure university; while in England, why, before he knows where he is, he is Sir Benjamin Buttery, Bart".

Since Mr Somerville-Large cannot convincingly say "eccentricity is thus-and-thus; here are those whom the cap fits", one looks to see whether his cast have something in common, from which eccentricity can be perceived. Indeed, of any anthology one must ask "Why is this included? Why is that excluded?", for the answer should give substance to the selection and a clue to the personality of the selector. Such a test may be applied triumphantly to Maurice Baring, to Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, to Dame Edith Sitwell; but less so to Mr Somerville-Large.

The opening chapters are on "familiars" and religious. The former are a collection of eighteenth-century Dublin rogues and beggars, picturesque enough in themselves but little enough eccentric in their context. Similarly, by the standards of those afflicted with religion, simply to be a hermit or an ascetic is no great sign of deviance (especially in ancient times), whatever it may be by the standards of, say, Lloyd's underwriters, sporting publicans or officers of the Special Branch: unless the hermits had begun in these occupations themselves. Nor, if one is an eremite, is it peculiar to live in a marsh infested with mosquitoes, flog oneself with nettles, or eat cowpats, however eccentric that might be in a trade union official, a Guards officer or a gossip columnist. An eccentric hermit, one feels, would flog himself with goose feathers, have his loincloth made by Poole, and live entirely off Cooper's Oxford marmalade. (St Kevin's diet, we are told, "was probably supplemented by visiting monks", but one's inference from that may outstrip what was intended.)

One is not helped, either, by Mr Somerville-Large's reproduction, as eccentricities, of the wilder flights of pious fancy. To have had fingers that could turn into lighted candles would have been very odd in Mr Gladstone; in St Patrick it indicates only the credulity of the simple; while the existence of ten speckled saints and a male saint "with remarkable breasts" suggests eccentricity in Rome more than in Ireland.

These curiosities are not unamusing, but they crowd the ground rather, and when we come to those eccentrics whom Edith Sitwell might have recorded, there is not a great deal of room left. Thus the Beresford family is only represented by the third Marquess of Waterford, when there was hardly a bearer of the name who would not have merited a few paragraphs; and in order to get in parti-coloured, bosomy and incandescent saints, Mr Somerville-Large has given us short measure in modern sinners. Fortunately the haphazardness of Mr Somerville-Large's approach results in the inclusion of many worthwhile vignettes to set against those cavilled at. Thus we are given Richard Kirwan when we might have been fobbed off with Sir William Wilde, and Jackie Barrett, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, when it would have been only too easy to have given us Provost Mahaffy. And the chapter on Amanda McKittrick Ros is more than compensation for the omission of, for example, the second Lord Ashbourne, Richard Adams, QC, or Captain White, who titled his memoirs *Misfit*.

Eccentrics are indeed not like other men, but unlike the pharisee, few of them would thank God for it. Incarceration and torture was the lot of many of them; ridicule and poverty of many more. Mr Somerville-Large does not invite us either to mock or to sympathize, only to gawp at his menagerie. That's show business.

Among this week's contributors

ANTHONY ATMORE is Secretary of the Centre of International and Area Studies, London.

C. D. DARLINGTON, FRS, is the author of *The Evolution of Man and Society*, 1969.

ANTHONY DELIUS is the author of *The Last Division*, 1960.

J. D. FAGE is Director of the Centre of West African Studies, Birmingham.

NADINE GORDIMER'S *Selected Stories* will be published later this year.

J. D. HARGREAVES is Professor of History at the University of Aberdeen.

B. E. HARRELL-BOND is a Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford.

DANIEL JENKINS'S books include *Beyond Religion*, 1962, and *The Christian Belief in God*, 1964.

PETER KEATING is the author of *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction*, 1971.

FRANK KERMODE is King Edward VII Professor of English Literature at the University of Cambridge.

JULIUS LEWIN is the author of *Politics and Law in South Africa*.

KENNETH LITTLE'S books include *African Women in Towns*, 1973.

LUCY MAIR'S most recent book is *African Societies*, 1974.

MOLLY M. MAHOOD is the author of *Joyce Cary's Africa*, 1964.

KENNETH O. MORGAN'S books include *Lloyd George*, 1974 and *Keir Hardie*, 1975.

JULIAN MOYNAHAN'S books include *The Deed of Life: Novels and Tales of Lawrence*, 1963.

ROLAND OLIVER is Professor of the History of Africa at the School of Oriental and African Studies.

MARGARET PEIL is the author of *The Ghanaian Factory Worker: Industrial Man in Africa*, 1972.

T. O. RANGER'S *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa* was published earlier this year.

C. B. SCHMITT is the author of *Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469-1533) and his Critique of Aristotle*, 1967.

ROGER SCRUTON'S *Art and Imagination* was published last year.

GEORGE SHEPPERSON is Professor of Commonwealth and American History at the University of Edinburgh.

WILLIAM TORDOFF is the author of *Government and Politics in Tanzania*, 1967.

THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS ENEMIES

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This world and the next

By D. A. N. Jones

WOLE SOYINKA:
Death and the King's Horseman
77pp. Methuen. £2.95 (paperback, 95p).

NKEM NWANKWO:
My Mercedes is Bigger than Yours
177pp. André Deutsch. £3.25.

When I lived among the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria, fifteen years ago, one of the pleasures of life was the subtle, easy coexistence of their culture with that of Britain, not what one expected in a colonized people. An unselfconscious pride and confidence in their ancient customs helped, it seemed, to enable them to select from our ways and traditions those they found agreeable and to reject what was repellent. If they mocked us, it was done courteously, more in a spirit of one-up-manship than hostility. Nor were we expatriates inclined to patronize their spirited and beautiful festivities, their graceful manners, their witty proverbs. Wole Soyinka, in his late twenties at the time, was an emblem of the Yoruba-British cultural alliance. I saw him only once, acting in a smart bourgeois comedy from Sierra Leone, but his Byronic politics and neo-Elizabethan writing represented everything I liked about my environment: the township where I lived illustrated the points he was making and illuminated his many obscurities.

The Ibo people, whom I knew less well, seemed to be, in a sense, a more "modern" people. Their traditions and those of Britain were not so congenial. Their chieftaincies were not ancient, but imposed upon them by the colonial power; they had adopted the Roman Catholic faith, rather than the usual religion of the colonizers. In Nkem Nwankwo's new novel, both these aspects of Ibo life are present—the Roman Catholic ambience and the false, self-appointed chiefs. Like many Ibo novelists (with the obvious exception of the best, Chinua Achebe), Nwankwo expresses an urge to attack and reject his people's past, and to latch on to certain seductive features of twentieth-century life—such as cars and cushy jobs in public relations. But then the mood of the novel swings away from this Vanity Fair, lurching, like an Irishman, back to mother and village pieties, for a while—until the final, destructive victory of the world of motor cars. Novels are commonly written by people unsure of their position in their society and their relationship to its values. This may be why Ibo writers have excelled in novel-writing whereas Soyinka, the Yoruba, is primarily a playwright, a rearranger of ancient rituals.

Death and the King's Horseman, writes Soyinka, is a play based on events that took place in 1946 and which have already inspired a good play in Yoruba and a bad German television film. It is about a chieftain, the King's Horseman, who is expected to take his own life, on the death of his king, in order to accompany his spirit to the other world. The project is frustrated by Mr Pilkings, the English District Officer, who disapproves of this wasteful self-sacrifice. Soyinka has put back the date to the war years, for what he calls "minor reasons of dramaturgy". The principal reason is, surely, that he wishes to compare the chieftain's sacrifice with that of the soldiers of Europe and with that of an English captain who goes down with his ship in Lagos harbour. Perhaps he calls the reason "minor" because he is determined that his play shall not be seen as a boring "clash-of-cultures" story. He inveighs against an American blurb-writer who stuck this label on his novel, and a similar complaint might be made against the aggressive blurb for *Death and the King's Horseman*, which emphasizes a contrast between "the mystery and ritual of Yoruba life" and "the dessicated [*sic*] life-style of the colonials".

In fact, Simon Pilkings is quite a respectable Creon figure, confronted by this mature, male version of suicidal Antigone. When the chieftain, Elesin, insists on his right to die, according to custom, Pilkings comes out with one of the more sceptical Yoruba proverbs. He says:

> You were surrounded by those who egged you on with song and praises. I thought, are these not the same people who say: "The elder grimly approaches heaven and you ask him to bear your greetings yonder. Do you really think he makes the journey willingly?"

Scepticism seems to play a strong part in Yoruba tradition.

But our natural interest in our compatriot, Pilkings, must not deceive us into thinking that his dilemma is important to Soyinka. "The colonial factor is an incident, merely", says the playwright. What he is concerned with is the acceptance of death, the passage into the next world: he wants directors to elicit the play's "threnodic essence". It ought to make excellent theatre. It begins with the triumphant Elesin dancing through the market, almost "fey", in the old sense, happy with his forthcoming death, ready to encounter darkness as a bride. It is all ceremony and praise-singing. This is followed by the expatriates' ceremony, more sinister than they know. Pilkings and his wife are going to a fancy-dress dance at the European Club: a royal prince from Britain will be present, and the Pilkingses are wearing the costumes and masks of Yoruba *egungun* masqueraders, strange images of death.

The scene at the European Club is described as "a masque", with the royal party and others waltzing in seventeenth-century English costume, and only the Pilkingses dressed as African ancestral spirits. Between the ceremonies and the rich extravagant verses come sharp, naturalistic dialogues, with a strong role for the chieftain's son—who has made his own marriage between British and Yoruba cultures. A protégé of the Pilkingses, he has returned from wartime Britain with his harsh sense of the value of self-sacrifice strengthened.

This is a rich, ambitious drama and *My Mercedes is Bigger than Yours* looks slight beside it. But it is not as slight as its jocular title suggests. Motorized transport developed gradually in Britain and we did not notice what it was doing to us. In Nigeria, it came with a bang, and was immediately a fit subject for poetry and drama (like Soyinka's play, *The Road*). When the hero of Nwankwo's novel buys his Jaguar, his thoughts and fantasies become euphuistic:

> Let this idyll be disturbed by the intrusion of a satyr in a high powered car who, aided by the car, worsts Hyperion. . . . Hint at an Orphean resolve by Hyperion to descend to the nether world, if need be, to rescue his ravished ego.

He wrecks his Jaguar, the parts are stolen, it is left like a picked skeleton. Religion, politics, magic—they all fail him in his efforts to win another. Only through murder can he win a Mercedes (he murders a man called Magic) and he rides out of the book upon it/her ("she moved with lovely art and sensuous obedience, moaning softly . . ."). This is, in fact, a characteristically vivid, exuberant, sour-sweet Ibo novel.

In a common cause

By George Shepperson

CYRIL E. GRIFFITH:
The African Dream
Martin R. Delany and the Emergence of Pan-African Thought
153pp. Pennsylvania State University (AUPG). £5.25.

Historical writing on nineteenth-century black America has been dominated by a trio of outstanding Afro-Americans: Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. However, because of the importance of black nationalism for many modern Afro-Americans, there have been signs during the past decade and a half that this Big Three might become a Big Four. The fourth personality, neglected to some extent in his own time, is Martin Robinson Delany (1812-85).

This black doctor, who was commissioned as a major in the Union Army in 1865, has captured the imagination of several recent writers largely because of his dogged leadership of the Niger Valley Exploring Party which, on December 27, 1859, made a treaty with the Alake and chiefs of Abeokuta in order to settle Americans of African descent in an important part of what is now Nigeria. Delany sought a foothold in his ancestral continent for an Afro-American nation because, as he admitted when he was in Glasgow in 1860 attending a meeting of the National Society for Promoting Social Science at the invitation of Lord Brougham, "he had never been able to look upon America as his home, but rather felt as if he had been born in the wrong place".

In *The African Dream*, Cyril E. Griffith, formerly holder of a United Negro College Fund Fellowship and now a member of the history faculty at Pennsylvania State Uni has made a valuable contrib the study of Delany and his Afro-American and African Although Dr Griffith's em on the African aspects of career, he adds new details American side, which is ex more thoroughly in the graphies of Delany publis 1971 by Victor Ullman and Sterling. Like these and writers on Delany, Dr Griff been confronted by the trag the loss of Delany's paper African artifacts in a Wilberforce University, Ohi through diligent research in can, Canadian, British and archives, Dr Griffith has suc in filling many gaps story of this fascinating Afro-can.

His approach to Delany one of undiluted hero-worship quarrel between Douglass Delany, who edited togethe newspaper *North Star* betwee and 1849, is carefully exami his book. And Dr Griffith that Delany's back-to-Africa ment "caused far greater po tion among black leaders time than any other single

Furthermore, Dr Griffith attention to the restrictions Delany imposed upon himse accepting a commission in the Army. "By admitting Del the Army", he writes, " and Stanton actually ended his paign for the formation government-sponsored, se national black force. The nationalist had allowed the go ment to place him in a po where they could control his ties for the next four years."

Dr Griffith does, however, a long view of Delany. He him as a convinced anti-imper not only in his criticism of th of whites in the establishment black state of Liberia but also anger at the British annexat Lagos in 1861. Unlike black American settlers in eria, he had no intention dominating the local Afr in his proposed settle in West Africa. He spoke of principle of African nationali African race being the rul ment of the nation". D nationalism, therefore, transc Afro-American bounds; and Griffith is surely correct in gorizing it as "pan-African".

Like many pan-Africanists the New World, there was of element of utopianism in De vision of Africa. His *Project Expedition of Adventure Eastern Coast of Africa* in 18 visaged a transcontinental r which would link eastern, c and western Africa in a proje exporting mineral ores! Nev less, Dr Griffith does not exag when he declares that, bas "Delany visualized men from black diaspora working with cans to develop the n resources of the continent".

It is views of this sort should commend Dr Griffith's as much to students of Africa tory as of Afro-American. time, moreover, when inter growing in the historiograph Africa, Dr Griffith's comment Delany's last book, *The Prin of Ethnology* (1878), in which appears to be attacking the Ha non-black hypothesis of A development, deserve to be no

Half a century before W. E. Bois, at the 1900 Pan-Af Conference in London, made now famous statement: problem of the Twentieth C is the problem of the colour Delany anticipated his view what has come to be called Third World. "It would duplicity", he declared in "longer to disguise the fact the great issue, sooner or upon which must be disputed world's destiny, will be a qu of black or white; and individual will be called upo his identity with one or the The blacks and coloured rac four-sixths of all the populati the world; and these people fast tending to a common cause each other." Whether Delany prophetic or mistaken remai be seen. But there can be no that, in the history of ideas relations of the "developed" countr the "underdeveloped" the world, this militant American is assuming at las righteful place.

Customary formalities

By Molly M. Mahood

EMMANUEL OBIECHINA:
Culture, Tradition and Society in the West African Novel
296pp. Cambridge University Press. £7 (paperback, £2.60).

Recent books from West Africa suggest that the guardians of good academic prose — rhythmically supple and lexically resourceful— are the scholars of Nsukka and its sister universities. Emmanuel Obiechina writes beautifully; his study of traditional culture in the West African novel is virtually free from the jargon that, in other places, we might expect from a book which began its existence as a doctoral thesis, and which appears as part of a series that is predominantly sociological.

Culture, Tradition and Society in the West African Novel does not escape all the disadvantages of its origin. "Considerable structural changes" have been made to the thesis, but the end product shows signs of having been rather too long in the freezer. Though the bibliography lists up-to-date sociological and historical reading, it has the oddest gaps: V. C. Uchendu's study of the dynamic of Igbo social life, David Carroll's good book on Chinua Achebe, J. C. Anene's valuable history of British penetration into Igbo country. And the novels studied are all, with one not very well-handled exception, those written in or before 1966.

Dr Obiechina needed to make a selection of works but his selection includes several poor Igbo novels, and several non-Igbo ones that do not lend themselves well to an approach based largely on the anthropology of the author's own people. Despite his insights into Wole Soyinka's difficult *The Interpreters*, I wish that he could have stuck to the better Igbo novels and included such relevant and recent works as *The Great Ponds*. But it is pleasant to find that he treats Nkem Nwankwo's witty and neglected novel *Danda* with respect, and that he acknowledges the poetic passion underlying the linguistic freakishness of Okara's *The Voice*.

An indifferent novel often documents traditional culture better than a good one; and the other disadvantage of this book's origin is that in much of it, including almost the whole of the first two chapters and most of the last, literature is used simply as social documentation. Early warning of this is given when Dr Obiechina, in dismissing European novels with an African setting, excludes from his censure Mark Freshfield's *Stormy Dawn*. Margaret Field, who wrote under this pseudonym, was an ethnologist and a psychologist, with considerable understanding of Ghanaian life, but her novel is small beer; Joyce Cary's *Mister Johnson* displays wild misunderstandings of Nigerian life, and is a masterpiece. Too often Dr Obiechina writes as if it were the African novelists' duty to "set the record straight" (as the blurb has it) in the footsteps of Margaret Field, rather than to create their personal vision in the manner of the masters. The old masters of the novel happen, by historical accident, not to be Africans; but some of them knew a good deal about traditional social values, as Dr Obiechina readily admits in his allusions to D. H. Lawrence.

So "fidelity" is held up as the criterion of literary excellence early in the first chapter, and the book's closing sentence praises certain writers for having established "the African authenticity". Yet as a trained literary critic Dr Obiechina knows at heart that documentation is not the end of creative writing. The most interesting and reassuring part of his book is those middle chapters in which he considers the formal elements of African novels, beginning with characterization, the writers' use of space and time, and their traditional settings. True, "authenticity" still prevails as the criterion. We hear of time as seasonal rhythm inside the novel, but nothing about the perfectly controlled tempo of Amadi's *The Concubine*. We are told about the kind of character a *dibia* maintains in an Igbo village, which involves characterization at the level of *The Archers*, but not about the delicacy, resembling nothing so much as Jane Austen's handling of Anne Elliot's feelings in *Persuasion*, with which Amadi treats the relationship of his heroine and her lover.

But from time to time in these central chapters the literary critic emerges, to reveal an awareness of the shaping spirit, the authorial presence in even the most "anthropological" works of writers such as Amadi, Achebe, Nwankwo. And then quite suddenly, in the last of these chapters devoted to form, one on the language of the novels, Dr Obiechina breaks right out of the sociological cage and offers a series of admirable *lectures expliquées*, enlightened by his knowledge of the niceties of African social custom, yet wholly responsive to those other and more telling nuances by which the novelist conveys his criticism of life.

The last section of Dr Obiechina's book is largely given over to Chinua Achebe's two novels of Igbo traditional life. It reads well: we are walking deep into the Igbo heartland with an informed Igbo guide. But Dr Obiechina has slipped back into the notion of the novel as social documentation: "The West African novelists have necessarily had to represent traditional as well as modern beliefs, attitudes and modes of expression which combine to inform and define the West African concept of reality."

Who is doing the representing? Elechi Amadi's concept of reality does not include mermaids, though he writes as if it did. What Dr Obiechina has overlooked throughout, even in those chapters which show an awareness of the novelist's individual vision, is that skilful use of a narrational standpoint, not the modern author's and not wholly the traditional characters', which is the sophisticated achievement of the best African novelists.

If the trial marriage between sociological and literary criticism has not ended here in conjugal harmony, the core of the book, especially the chapter on language, demonstrates that such harmony is possible and is a development which African critics are particularly well placed to achieve. Meanwhile Dr Obiechina's book justifies its publisher's claim that it is the most solid study yet produced of what we may learn about traditional Africa from the fiction of Achebe and others.

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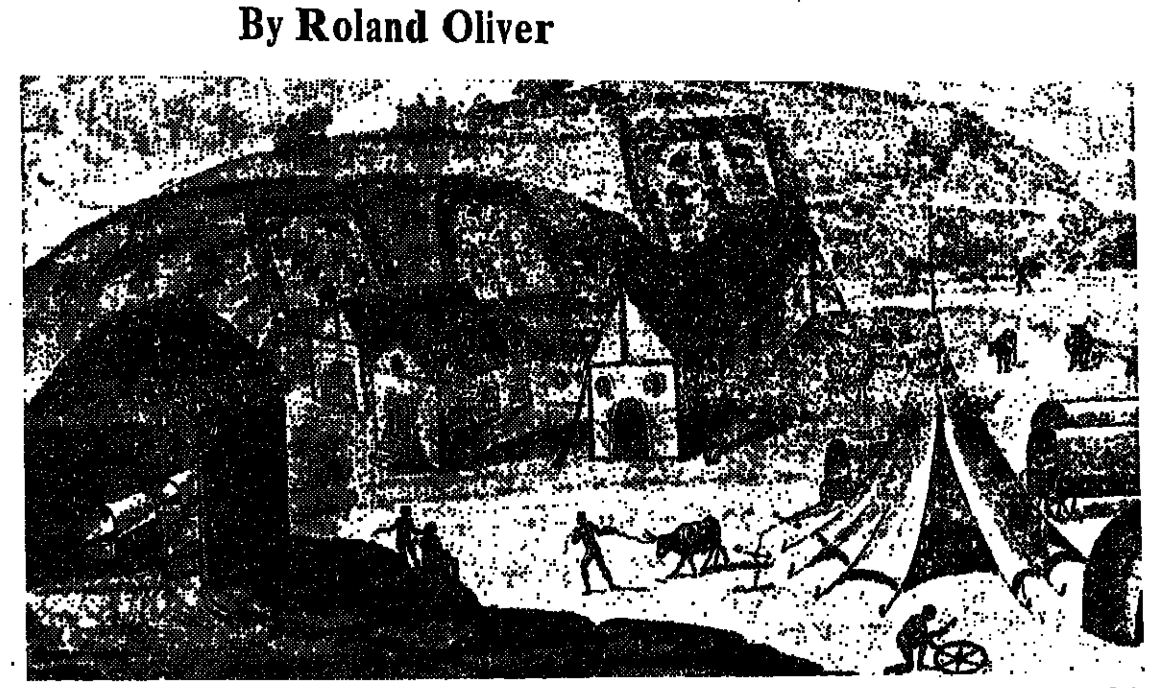
Nationalism and supra-nationalism

By Roland Oliver

ARD STAHN:
rika der Vaterländer
eg in die Unabhängigkeit
Frankfurt: Otto Lembeck.



"Camp at Josias Engelbrecht's homestead": one of 165 watercolours from the years 1781-84 reproduced in François Le Vaillant: Traveller in South Africa *(Cape Town: Library of Parliament, 1973).*

pe des patries—the phrase is 's, and Eberhard Stahn has to characterize the Africa of 60s and 1970s, the period most of the continent was already independent, the period which d that of the initial freedom s and of the pan-African y which inspired them. pe des patries has been in an Africa of former colonies their way to becoming nations and therefore even more preoccupied with their national prestige and identity than nation-states continents with longer his-

nation-states of Africa are ed within the same international boundaries as the colonies preceded them. All but the smallest include the speakers vernacular languages and of a wide variety of ethnic and custom. Colonial government had barely begun the process ication. Their disappearance d the main unifying factor, was opposition to colonial The successor governments began to build nations almost scratch.

was a predicament which left little scope for supra- programmes but was actually contradictory to them. To the centrifugal forces their borders, the new states turn themselves into engines creation of nationalism. the one-party systems, the planned economies, the ization of power in leaders, civilian but later often military who cultivated many of the s of a precolonial African As Dr Stahn points out, it is ing to equate this kind of ship with what is known in Western world as dictatorship. same time, kings stand for nity.

Stahn's short, pithy and re- objective book, *Das Afrika Vaterländer*, is essentially an ction to the international s of the African states, both among themselves and with the outside world. North Africa and South Africa occupy a half-way position between the inside world and the outside. The story begins with Nkrumah's attempts to found a United States of Africa, at the First Conference of Independent African States in April 1958, with the Ghana-Guinea union of the same year, which was extended to include Mali in 1961. The East African counterpart of these endeavours was the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central (later also of Southern) Africa founded by Tom Mboya at the Mwanza conference of 1958, which led on to Nyerere's attempts to bring about a political federation in East Africa. While both movements were unsuccessful, they were significant as the first steps in inter-African diplomacy, prefiguring the shape of future alignments.

The third main grouping of African states was the Union Africaine et Malgache, in which there was no element of pan-African federalist thinking. It was a defensive alliance of French-speaking governments closely bound by economic and military ties to the former colonial metropolis. With its formation in 1960, the Africa of nation-states had arrived. The Casablanca and Monrovia groupings of 1961 and 1962 were once again alliances of like-minded states which had no intention of modifying their individual sovereignty. And so the way was paved for the establishment in 1963 of the Organization of African Unity as an instrument for economic and technical cooperation, for mediating in political disputes and for expressing the lowest common denominator of political solidarity existing between African states. Looking over the record of the OAU, Dr Stahn sees it as a conservative organization, concerned above all to maintain the status quo in relation to the holy colonial frontiers. In his view, its one great success has been its handling of negotiations with the European Economic Community.

Regarding Africa's relations with the outside world, Dr Stahn has no doubt that, both in aid and influence, the role of the ex-colonial powers, though now declining, has been much more important, than any others. He reckons that in one way and another Britain, France and Belgium all maintain "aid" personnel in something like the numbers formerly employed in colonial government. Their educational contribution both in Africa and in Europe has remained predominant.

Above all France, with its "aid" force of 11,000, mostly teachers, with its military defence agreements with ten out of twelve of its former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, and with its key men close to the seats of power in most of the Francophone countries, has maintained a prestige wide enough to absorb the negative side of her activities—arms sales to South Africa, interference in the Nigerian civil war, and the memories of a bellicose colonial past in Indo-China and Algeria. Britain, with a much clearer record of beginning to prepare African colonies for self-government, has experienced a much greater loss of influence, because of the difficulties in dismantling the powers of white minorities, above all in Rhodesia. Very few people, inside or outside Africa, understand the difference between Britain's constitutional but purely theoretical responsibility for Rhodesia and France's ability to withdraw power in Algeria. "Solange London eine militärische Aktion in Rhodesien zur Beseitigung der Minderheitsherrschaft ablehnt, wird das Verhältnis zu den Afrikanischen Staaten gestört bleiben." It may be unreasonable, but it is true.

Nevertheless, the British involvement in Africa, commercial and educational as well as diplomatic, remains considerable, much more so than the oscillating interests of the United States, enthusiastic under Kennedy but markedly less so under Johnson, Nixon and Ford. To a large extent, the recession of American interest has followed that of the Soviet Union, which, having burnt its fingers in Guinea and the Congo, now concentrates increasingly on the Arab states of the north-west and the north-east. Indeed, the Eastern Bloc countries as a whole contribute only 20 per cent of Africa's outside aid and account for only 5 per cent of its external trade. China, like the Soviet Union, has pursued a selective policy in Africa, which is nowadays concentrated on the Tanzam railway and the regions to the south of it. Peking practises the interesting contradiction of aiding revolutionary movements while trading actively in the minerals of Smith's Rhodesia and Vorster's South Africa.

In comparison with the declining interests of America and Russia, and the limited interests of China, Dr Stahn foresees a growing involvement between the tropical African countries and those of the EEC. He says that Bonn is beginning to rival Washington as the most African capital of the outside world, in that nearly all African states are represented there, whereas in Paris and London it is the diplomats of the former colonies who predominate. Essentially, however, he believes that the future lies with the Community rather than its individual members, and this is because he sees signs of a shift in Africa's interests in international relations from a mainly political to a mainly economic orientation. During the first fifteen years of independence political considerations were always primary. The early leaders were men of politics, with little understanding of economics. Now that the African states have shown their capacity to survive politically, even through such crises as the attempted secessions of Katanga and Biafra, there is more confidence on the political side, and a growing realization that the failures of independent Africa have been mainly economic. Dr Stahn sees the evidence for this change of emphasis, above all, in the two years of hard negotiation between the African states and the EEC on the terms of association, or cooperation. Here the key factor has been the unity of the African negotiators, and their success in securing a major redefinition of terms, now embodied in the Lome Convention of January 1975. The Africa of nation-states may at last be developing a new degree of solidarity.

Dr Stahn is by profession an aid administrator, who obviously knows much of tropical Africa at first hand. Altogether, his book gives one a sense of confidence. There are certainly some lapses into ignorance, particularly where the author attempts to explain the historical origins of modern developments. For example, he seems to think that the Nigerian civil war had its ultimate origins in precolonial Arab conquests of this region, which is plainly nonsense. Also, one sometimes wonders if his neat generalizations really take account of phenomena like Field Marshals Amin and Bokassa. Clearly, a regular student of Colin Legum's annual publication, *Africa: Contemporary Record*, would not have much to learn from Dr Stahn's book. But as a concise introduction to the international relations of Africa during the past fifteen or twenty years it is valuable and would probably merit an English translation.

eneral post

tanislav Andreski

. GUTTERIDGE:
y Régimes in Africa
Methuen. £3.50.

W. F. Gutteridge has probably more work in the field than else, it is not surprising that *Military Régimes in Africa* highly informative survey. his previous books and deal with seizures of power, book was written late enough to some assessment of the ments and failures of the regimes in Ghana, the Nigeria, Dahomey, Uganda Zaire. Though published in a African history, it could as be considered political reportage not only because of its timeliness but also because much of the ation seems to have been orally during the author's ling travels. The book is organized and clearly written only a few lapses into jargon, as when the author writes "the credibility of the yan army" (forgetting that adjective can properly be only to statements), or when superfluous "behavioural" perfectly adequate word teristics". Another instance sentence "Whatever their tion their external reference to sociological terms remains time being the same", which nothing to the discussion of the case into which it is sely inserted.

ore serious shortcoming of the book is that Mr Gutteridge's understandable reluctance to offend sometimes makes his analysis a little less than forthright. For example he says: "The timing of recent coups is in large measure explicable in terms of the factors affecting the conversion of colonial defence forces into national armies." This may sound nice but is untrue. A national army can exist only in a nation-state, where it is backed by the sentiment of national solidarity and valued as an instrument of defence (or aggression) against foreigners. In the First World War, for instance, the French, British and German armies were national but the Austrian was not.

Leaving aside a possible future condition of Mozambique, only Somalia among the black African states can be said to have a national army because it is the only nation-state south of the Sahara. Everywhere else the armed forces are viewed (and have in fact been employed) only as instruments for internal use. The references to professionalism also smack of diplomatic discourse. It does not help us to understand the behaviour of military dictators to be told:

> A profession can be defined as a field of activity which involves something more than long-term commitment and a reasonable level of reward: its members have an obligation to serve society in accordance with a code of duty overriding personal ambition and convenience.

This criticism does not mean that I believe that all the military rulers are self-seeking and unprincipled gangsters. In Africa (as in other parts of the world) there are all kinds of men among them: ranging from simple bandits to austere fanatics and enlightened (and even benevolent) autocrats. The author does not tell us much about the personalities but he does bring out the great differences between different regimes in character and achievements.

On the whole Mr Gutteridge is much better at describing events and situations than at offering explanations. Indeed, perhaps he should have left alone the general question of why there are so many military regimes in Africa, because it does not help us much to read that this is due to the "low level of political culture" or to "the immaturity of the political system". As we are not told how we can find out whether the level of political culture is low or the political system immature (except by seeing the soldiers seizing power by force in defiance of the constitution), explanations in these terms are completely circular, and amount to no more than saying "because this is how it is". The use of the term "immaturity" compounds two errors because it implies an assumption (for which there is no evidence) that political institutions necessarily evolve through a predetermined set of stages analogous to the life-cycles of animals and plants. Fortunately very little space is devoted to theorizing (which clearly is not the author's metier) and the bulk of the book consists of somewhat conventional but solid and interesting narrative.

Within its limitations—as an account of actions and reactions of soldiers and their civilian allies and opponents—the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of African politics and of military regimes in general.

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The roots of underdevelopment

By T. O. Ranger

EDWARD A. ALPERS :

Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa

Changing Patterns of International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century

296pp. Heinemann. £7 (paperback, £2.80).

Edward Alpers's *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* has been ten years in the making. The book began a decade ago with his doctoral research on Portuguese material in Lisbon and London and it appears now as modified and developed by his subsequent research and teaching in Africa and America. There is an unhappy class of African history doctoral theses, important and original when they were presented but thereafter trapped in the rapidly changing pattern of new evidence and interpretation. Their authors modify and revise, desperately seeking to embody the new evidence and to relate their material to the new questions. But this is not easy to do. Sometimes the result is broken-backed and hesitant, poised between two historiographies. At other times it gives the impression that the original edifice has been painted over with a fresh finish so as to make it more fashionable.

Professor Alpers found himself in this sort of situation. He writes:

> In its original form the thesis reflects the predominant trend in studies on pre-colonial African trade in the mid-1960s, when the assumptions were that entrepreneurial skills and economic development were inevitably linked in a positive relationship and that the initiative which Africans demonstrated in their trading with non-Africans was above all else a verification of the role which Africans played in the making of their own history. The present book no longer shares those assumptions. Instead its basic argument is that the changing patterns of international trade in East Central Africa during these centuries, including the initiatives taken by Africans themselves, must be set within the context of the historical roots of underdevelopment in Africa.

Yet in moving in this way from one historiography to another Professor Alpers has been outstandingly successful. *His* book is certainly not broken-backed or merely modish. Instead a process of deepening and enrichment has taken place so that the final version is an enormously better book than the initial dissertation.

Of course, Professor Alpers has been fortunate in his topic. Many of those who explored African initiative did so in the form of detailed local studies which are not easy to adapt so as to meet the question raised by the historiography of underdevelopment. But Professor Alpers in his first version was documenting African initiative within international trade, the study of which is at the very heart of the underdevelopment debate. Nor did he need to abandon the discoveries of his first version in order to develop the argument of his second. There is plenty of room in that argument for African economic expertise and energy within what he calls the "closed system" of East African trade. Moreover, the very length of the time period and breadth of the territory covered meant that most of Professor Alpers's general reading and teaching over the past ten years has been relevant to the revision of the book. But all this should not lead us to underestimate the achievement. Only a man of enormous intellectual energy, with a voracious appetite for following up the latest research, with a sense of the excitement of debate and keen feeling for relevance, could have put it all together as successfully as Professor Alpers has now done.

His book is extraordinarily sure-footed in an extraordinary variety of places and periods. He is thoroughly at home with the complexities of the coast, and especially those of the Portuguese settlements. But he can draw very effectively on recent research on the African societies of Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia, and also on his own field research experience in eastern Tanzania. He has an unusual feeling for the broad patterns of East Central African history which justifies his claim to be the first "to examine the history of the entire region over an extended period of time". But he is also very well informed on the broad patterns of Indian Ocean commerce. Some of his most stimulating pages concern the rise and decline of merchant capitalism within India and the relation of its development to the East African trade. He handles with equal ease the Sakalava of Madagascar, the Omani, and the Brazilians.

The result is a book which offers a large and coherent picture, assembling its multitude of fragments into a synthesis more shapely than anything we have had for East Central Africa since Reginald Coupland's ethnocentric and limited studies. In fact the achievement is sufficiently impressive to make a word of caution worthwhile. The book is very much a beginning rather than a conclusion. For one thing it is unlikely that all Professor Alpers's ingenious reconstructions of fragmentary evidence will turn out to be valid. For another thing he has not always managed to subordinate the clustering of the evidence around particular issues to the overall pattern, so that the book has some imbalances. But much more important than this is the fact that in the end he claims a little more than he has accomplished.

In his conclusion he remarks that he hopes his book "has demonstrated" that "for East Central Africa the roots of underdevelopment lie in the entanglement of African societies in the mercantile capitalist systems of the world through the nexus of international trade". He goes on:

> Interpretations which look to the structure of African societies for the *roots* of underdevelopment err in confusing a lack of economic development for the dynamic of underdevelopment. Those which seek these roots in colonialism err in assuming that trade between Europe and Africa, not to mention that between India and Africa, was equally beneficial to all parties. The evidence presented here suggests, quite to the contrary, that the historical roots of underdevelopment in East Central Africa must be sought in the system of international trade which was established by Arabs by the thirteenth century, seized and extended by the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dominated by Indians in the eighteenth century, and finally commanded by a complex admixture of Indian, Arab, and Western capitalism.

Now, Professor Alpers's discussion is indeed "suggestive", but it does not amount to a *demonstration*. So far as I can see the evidence would still allow for another interpretation. Here I would like to draw attention to a debate within the historiography of underdevelopment. For the interpretations discussed by Professor Alpers are not the only ones. There are some scholars who trace the roots of underdevelopment not to the weaknesses of African economic systems themselves, nor to the colonial period, nor yet to the whole sequence of international trading relationships, but rather to a decisive shift in the character of those trading relationships at a particular point in time. The foremost exponent of this view is Immanuel Wallerstein, who has argued it in a series of recent papers.

In the most recent and most accessible of these papers ("The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World Economy", to appear in *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, Volume 1, edited by Peter Gutkind and I. Wallerstein), he begins from an assumption which Professor Alpers would certainly share:

> At a certain point in time, both Europe and Africa . . . came to be incorporated into a single social system, a capitalist world economy, whose fundamental dynamic largely controlled the actors located in both sectors of one united arena. It is in the reciprocal linkages of the various regions of the capitalist world economy that we find the underlying determinants of social actions at a more local level.

The crucial question is *when* did this incorporation take place?

Professor Wallerstein argues that it does not happen for West Africa until the second half of the eighteenth century and for East Central Africa until the second half of the nineteenth. Before that,

> to the extent that various African systems and the European world economy were in trade contact one with the other, they were in each other's "external" arena and the trade was of a quite different nature than that which would subsequently occur between the African periphery and the European core of the capitalist world economy.

The essence of trade between external arenas is that it is trade in luxuries. Professor Wallerstein remarks that in this respect the trade "the Portuguese launched in . . . East Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries . . . at first was essentially of the same nature, and involved essentially the same products as the trans-Saharan trade that dates back at least to the tenth century AD and the Indian Ocean trade that goes back further still". According to his analysis, the quantity of ivory and other luxury goods supplied "varied on a market determined less by demand than by effective supply"; "production was not determined by variations in this demand but by the politico-technological ability of the long-distance traders to transport the material. The resulting trade involved no transfer of surplus, but could in fact be considered a mutual windfall."

Now, this certainly is very different from Professor Alpers's analysis of the same period. Professor Alpers stresses the dependence of African long-distance traders on market demand; he stresses "that what Africans received in exchange for ivory, even though [ivory] had little intrinsic economic value in their own societies, were goods that in no way equalled the value placed on ivory by the merchant capitalists of India, Europe [illegible] America". He stresses that thr[illegible] the trade "the economic values [illegible] people like the Yao had been [illegible] pletely distorted" and the pro[illegible] tion of real wealth neglected [illegible] reiterates the underdeveloping [illegible] of non-European capitalism:

The dangers of attempting [illegible] achieve economic developm[illegible] as opposed to mere econ[illegible] growth, by linking a signific[illegible] sector of one's economy to c[illegible] talist economies, and of sur[illegible] dering basic decision-mak[illegible] power over the developme[illegible] path to be followed by e[illegible] society exist whatever [illegible] nationality of the domina[illegible] capitalist power.

But although the theoreti[illegible] differences between Profe[illegible] Alpers and Professor Wallers[illegible] are clear, my feeling [illegible] that the evidence presented in [illegible] fessor Alpers's book provides [illegible] much support for one view as [illegible] the other. The movement of [illegible] trade from Mozambique to [illegible] can be seen as convincingly [illegible] terms of Professor Wall[illegible] stein's model of "effective supp[illegible] as it can in Professor Alpe[illegible] model of "demand". We are [illegible] told enough in the book about [illegible] development of the productive [illegible] tems of the African societies to [illegible] able to tell which of the [illegible] characterizations is the m[illegible] accurate. For that matter we [illegible] not told enough about what A[illegible] and Indian and Portuguese "c[illegible] talists" did with their profits to [illegible] able to tell whether a "transfer [illegible] surplus" took place, or wheth[illegible] while African gains did nothing [illegible] develop production the gains [illegible] their trading partners were [illegible] vested to more productive effect.

My feeling is that Profes[illegible] Alpers's book raises perspecti[illegible] which need to be digested bef[illegible] one can be happy with Profe[illegible] Wallerstein's model—for exam[illegible] it suggests that it is importan[illegible] analyse Indian capitalism in r[illegible] tion to Africa rather than to c[illegible] centrate on documenting the [illegible] in which both Indian and Afri[illegible] economies were absorbed [illegible] "the European world econom[illegible] On the other hand Wallerste[illegible] work opens up questions a[illegible] Professor Alpers's material. But [illegible] the end this must stand as anoth[illegible] strength of Professor Alper[illegible] book. It is a book which opens [illegible] fresh questions rather than [illegible] which closes old controversies.

The balance of the slave trade

By J. D. Fage

PHILIP D. CURTIN :

Economic Change in Precolonial Africa

Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade

363pp and 43 illustrations. University of Wisconsin Press (AUPG). £9.

Philip D. Curtin has played an important role in the development of African historical studies since those first began to aspire to academic respectability during the 1950s. In *The Image of Africa* (1964) he explored the intellectual history of Europe's interrelationship with Africa on the eve of the colonial scramble. His book *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1969) established for the first time as exactly as possible what the dimensions of this major drain on Africa's precolonial population might have been. He has now given us a deeply researched investigation in the quantitative manner into the economic history of the Senegambia in the slave trade era. It has looked, indeed, as though Professor Curtin has an unusual flair for choosing the avenues that need to be explored if the history of sub-Saharan Africa is to be viewed in the same kind of depth that we take for granted with more developed areas of historical research. (In fact, as can be seen from the revealing preface to *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa*, the sequence of his writings has grown less by design than by chance out of a long-standing concern for race relations in the New World—expressed, for example, in his *Two Jamaicas* of 1955.)

In one sense, Professor Curtin's new book is a case-study in criticism of a received view of precolonial Africa that originated in the propaganda of the European slave-trade abolitionists, but which also underlies much more contemporary economic and anthropological writing and still provides fuel for some anti-colonial polemicists. This is that unsophisticated, "natural" African subsistence societies were tricked or pressured by aggressive, materialist Europeans into exchanging scarce and valuable human beings for worthless or destructive "guns and geegaws". Eventually such material devastation and social and moral destruction resulted that Europeans could justify colonial rule as the means of saving Africa, while in reality it was the only way in which they could continue to exploit it.

Professor Curtin says little, perhaps, on this subject that has not already been said by A. G. Hopkins in his pioneering *Economic History of West Africa*, for one of the latter's concerns was to demolish the myth of what he called "Merrie Africa". But Professor Curtin's concentration on a smaller area, for which, by African standards, the documentation is consistently good, over the long period since Europeans first began to trade to the Senegambia in the mid-fifteenth century, does make it possible for him to go into greater depth than was possible for Dr Hopkins.

Thus any Eurocentric sceptics rash enough to think that Dr Hopkins might be creating a new myth of his own, of economically rational Africans doing their utmost to turn the new opportunities presented by European sea trade to their own best advantage, should be finally silenced.

But it is important to note that the chapter on external trade is the last, and one of the shorter, of Professor Curtin's eight chapters. He quite rightly points out in it that "only a small part of the gross territorial production entered interregional trade, and only part of that moved by sea". The bulk of his book is a very detailed examination of many kinds of indigenous economic activity and change—in production, trading networks, currencies and the like, as well as of relevant social and political circumstances and developments—over some three centuries of Senegambian history. Particular attention is given to regional factors, basic differences of environment, ecology, and social tradition, and varying social responses. The result is a mature, authoritative account of a region in precolonial West Africa to rank with Yves Person's monumental study of Samori or Ivor Wilks's great work on Asante.

Perhaps trade and trading mechanisms bulk too large in the picture, at the expense of production, particularly agricultural production, or of relevant social parameters. But this derives mainly from the nature of the sources available. In the last resort, these are predominantly—though in no sense exclusively—documents generated by the European trading presence on the coast. In any case, the story of the development and ultimate meeting of the two trading networks, those of the West African *juula* (Dyula) and the European seafarers, is well worth telling in its own right. However, Professor Curtin surely goes too far when he is tempted to refer to the European traders as a species of *juula*. He himself points out that the Europeans were infinitely more dependent on central places than the Senegambian *juula*; that, unlike them, they had no base in agriculture; and that, while the *juula* were neutrals almost by definition, the Europeans continually involved themselves in politics and war.

These differences may go at least some of the way to explain one of Professor Curtin's major conclusions relating to the inter-cultural issue. Though the period of commercial contact between Europe and Senegambia tended to force upon the Senegambians export trades concentrating on a single commodity, first hides, then sla[illegible] and finally gum, up to about [illegible] 1840s the terms of these tr[illegible] tended increasingly to fav[illegible] the Africans. The value of Se[illegible] gambia's foreign trade tended [illegible] increase at a faster rate than [illegible] of either of her two major trad[illegible] partners, France and England, [illegible] the European merchants tended [illegible] be dependent on the Senegambi[illegible] rather than vice versa. Second[illegible] noting that even during its p[illegible] period between about 1680 [illegible] about 1790, the slave tr[illegible] accounted for less than 70 per c[illegible] of exports by value, Professor C[illegible] tin sees the Senegambian evide[illegible] as favouring what he calls [illegible] "political", rather than the "e[illegible] nomic", model for the export s[illegible] trade. Senegambian merchants [illegible] kings were not simply respon[illegible] to a Euramerican demand [illegible] slaves, and exports did not incre[illegible] as the prices offered for sl[illegible] increased (as they did drastic[illegible] in the eighteenth century).

Nor did the external demand [illegible] slaves engender the rise of agg[illegible] sive slave-raiding polities. Ra[illegible] the rise of major new states an[illegible] a warrior class tended to pro[illegible] relative accumulations of capt[illegible] who—especially when male—c[illegible] not easily be used as labour [illegible] by their homelands. Thus the ru[illegible] and trading classes thought it [illegible] ter to exchange some of them [illegible] favourable terms, for the useful [illegible] materials, such as metals, or [illegible] sumer goods, principally text[illegible] which Professor Curtin estimate[illegible] have constituted 70-80 per cen[illegible] the goods brought into the terri[illegible] from Europe.

It should be added that the [illegible] is furnished with very useful m[illegible] of statis[illegible] and a large number of [illegible] tables and graphs. It would [illegible] that even more quantitative [illegible] and relevant argument are conta[illegible] in a supplementary volume. Bu[illegible] publishers unfortunately provid[illegible] clue as to how this might be [illegible] tained.

The European invasion

By A. E. Atmore

JOHN D. HARGREAVES :

West Africa Partitioned

Volume I : The Loaded Pause, 1885-1889

273pp. Macmillan. £7.

[illegible]sion and occupation of Africa—as of almost the [illegible] rest of the [illegible]—by agents of European [illegible] the last two decades of [illegible]teenth century was an [illegible] of major historical im[illegible] Some 40 million people, [illegible] a vast area, more than [illegible] from Dakar in the west [illegible] Chad, and nearly 1,000 [illegible] from the Gold Coast of the [illegible] Guinea to Timbuktu on the [illegible] Niger bend, were swallowed [illegible] more than a decade by [illegible] invaders. The details of [illegible], and more especially the [illegible] for it—which are central to [illegible] or explanation of the clas[illegible] period of European [illegible]—have for long exer[illegible] the minds of historians, [illegible] both the invaders and [illegible]. Few of these have [illegible] to their task such dil[illegible] of research and soundness [illegible] as John Hargreaves. [illegible] *Pause, 1885-1889*, is the [illegible] of a three-volume study, *[illegible] Partitioned;* in effect, [illegible] is even larger, be[illegible] this book is a continuation [illegible] earlier work, *Prelude to the [illegible] of West Africa*, which was [illegible]shed in 1963, and which [illegible] story in the 1860s. Start[illegible] a young historian from a [illegible] base—he published in [illegible] life of Sir Samuel Lewis, [illegible] a prominent Sierra Leone [illegible] throughout the partition [illegible]—Professor Hargreaves has [illegible] a grand design of his[illegible] writing which already [illegible] over a quarter of a cen[illegible]

[illegible] Hargreaves's approach [illegible] one. His "self-imposed [illegible]" are primarily the study [illegible]-European relations; his [illegible] to elucidate these either [illegible] researches, mainly into the official papers available in archives in London and Paris, or by drawing upon the documentation and conclusions of fellow historians who have examined in some depth aspects of these relations. Professor Hargreaves is not by nature a theoretical historian, Marxist or otherwise, but he does recognize the tendency on the part of some historians (especially of imperialism) to reject any simple empiricism and to adopt a more theoretically structured methodology. His espousal of theory is "existential", as it is supposed to emerge as the tale enfolds, and not become fully apparent until the end of the third volume. A great strength of the book is that it is not declamatory; its skill lies in its unobtrusive interweaving of narrative, of straightforward description and of critical comment.

This skill is nowhere better displayed than in the first chapter, which presents a broad view of West African and West European relationships in 1885. The themes introduced here are indeed wide-ranging: economic change and its social and political effects; the tension between modernizing and traditional societies (and the problems of defining these); the impact of "new men"—Niger Delta entrepreneurs and Sierra Leonean migrating professional men, British technocratic visionaries and ambitious French soldiers; responses to the "Great Depression" of 1873-96; free-traders versus protectionists; German mini-initiatives, French waverings between modest intervention and anxious retrenchment, and the masterly inactivity of the British; the list is not exhaustive. These themes are placed both in their context in history and as part of the historical debate over imperialism.

There follow four chapters which break down West Africa geographically. One discusses French activities in Senegambia and on the Upper Niger. Another covers the affairs of the Niger Delta area. A third is on the Slave Coast—the comparatively short stretch of territory running from the Volta river to Lagos. The last of the four deals with the hinterland of Sierra Leone, where Samori and British and French agents (among others) jostled for position. The final chapter ties all—or most—of the strings together, from St Louis to Cameroon; it brings all the strands up to, or a little beyond, 1889, and interlocks these on-the-spot alarums and excursions with some of the larger themes introduced in Chapter 1. There is no conclusion, except to indicate that by then West Africa was poised for the more dramatic events that will be the concern of subsequent volumes, and that the main initiative for more aggressive policies after 1889 would come from the French.

The complexity and concentration of this exercise is something of a tour de force; Professor Hargreaves not only attempts an overall synthesis of the entire area, but also small syntheses of the main regions within it. But he is also walking a tightrope, the thin line of his "self-imposed objectives". He does not set out to write the history of any of the indigenous societies, not even those in direct contact with Europeans. Likewise, this is in no way—diplomatic, political or whatever—a history of the European states concerned. What Professor Hargreaves is after is an enigmatic phenomenon, both conceptually and in actuality. Like other contemporary historians of Africa, he applies the notion of the frontier to elucidate the various areas of interaction between Africans and the European foreigners. The trouble with the frontier concept here is its elusiveness; it is difficult to detach it from the central areas or coastal bases of the interrelating societies on either side. True to his purpose, Professor Hargreaves indeed tells us very little about the societies on the African side of these frontiers. Because of the weight of evidence from his sources, and perhaps because of [illegible] and ambition, he does devote a good deal of attention to the actions and ambitions (and fears and worries) of the European agents and of the Africans inhabiting the European coastal side of the fro[illegible]

Professor Hargre[illegible] cause to apologize (with tongue in cheek) "that there are more details in this book than some whose primary interest is in constructing a general theory of imperialism may care to know". A text of some 250 pages is not excessive for a major historical work, and however detailed some passages are, more would have been welcome, especially on the African side of the frontiers. For example, a more comprehensive examination of the internal dynamics of the polity set up by Samori would increase our understanding of the story of the interactions between his people and the French and British: we do not want to be referred constantly to Yves Person's massive tomes on Samori.

It is perhaps unfair to expect Professor Hargreaves to supply further information on economic (and therefore social) relations. He is a political and not an economic historian, though the appendix on selected statistical indicators shows that he is well able to handle such material. He probably would not dissent to any large degree from the analysis by A. G. Hopkins of the economic factors behind the European invasion and occupation: Professor Hargreaves would merely want to range alongside these, others. By the end of his third volume he will surely plump for a wholly sensible multi-causal version.

Professor Hargreaves refers to the notion that by 1885 or 1889 the extension of European political control over the whole of West Africa was inevitable. I am even more sceptical of this kind of thinking than I imagine he is. It has all the makings of a self-justificatory myth—the notion that somehow, by the early 1890s, European powers were inevitably drawn in to make ever more extensive invasions and conquests; the French repeating the inevitability of their experience in Algeria half a century previously. The great strength of this book is that in carefully dissecting the chronological sequence of the five-year period the author shows that while each situation had its own particular "logic of events" the sum of these was a tendency, a series of possibilities, but never an inevitability. To produce such a detailed historical narrative so full of incisive comment on such a large scale is no mean achievement. This book reinforces the status of Professor Hargreaves as a leading historian of West Africa and its relations with Europe.

[illegible]rsonalized politics

[illegible]rgaret Peil

[illegible] COLE :

[illegible] and Traditional Elites in [illegible] of Lagos

[illegible] Cambridge University Press.

[illegible] NKEMDIRIM :

[illegible] and Political Violence [illegible] Nigeria

[illegible] Ilfracombe, Devon: Arthur [illegible] £1.75.

[illegible] political behaviour has [illegible] consistent over a [illegible] of time. Those two [illegible] the colonial period, espe[illegible] show how precolon[illegible] between leaders [illegible] were modified but [illegible] fundamentally un[illegible]. Factions arising out of [illegible] conflict between indi[illegible] leaders often continue long [illegible] leaders have passed [illegible] scene, because politics is [illegible] more on personal rela[illegible] the struggle for personal [illegible] than on ideology. Patrick [illegible] *Modern and Traditional [illegible] the Politics of Lagos*, [illegible] the period from 1800 to [illegible] 1940s, concentrating on [illegible] politics of Lagos [illegible] examining the develop[illegible] its wider influence as the [illegible] Nigeria, which largely [illegible]. Bernard Nkemdirim's *[illegible] and Political Vio[illegible] Colonial Nigeria* provides [illegible] report of two incidents, [illegible] of 1953 and the Tiv [illegible] of 1960, with very little [illegible] these into a more [illegible] framework of colonial vio[illegible] the two, Mr Cole's is far [illegible].

[illegible] traditional Lagos elite had [illegible] judicial, commercial and [illegible] roles which gave them [illegible] the eyes of the people. At [illegible] was the Oba, whose [illegible] lay more in personality [illegible] wealth because the land [illegible] by the Idejo chiefs, an [illegible] separate group which [illegible] jealous of its rights. [illegible] in this indigenous polit[illegible] were the Europeans (mer[illegible] missionaries as well as [illegible] officials), the Saros (edu[illegible] Africans who preferred a [illegible] style of life) and the [illegible] (ex-slaves who had [illegible] to form an artisan [illegible]). As opportunities in [illegible] the professions and [illegible] service [illegible] gradually [illegible] political alliances shifted. [illegible] and 1920 [illegible] anti-government parties developed within both the traditional and the modern elites. Divisions also appeared within the Muslim community and between the indigenes and migrants flocking to the city from other parts of the country, though these play a relatively minor part in Mr Cole's history.

The careers of Henry Carr and Herbert Macaulay are reported in considerable detail, including the latter's role in the deportation and return of Oba Eleko. Carr, the most influential of the collaborators, receives much less sympathy than Macaulay, the leader for so long of the nationalist movement. The theme of resistance, articulated through traditional values, underlies the whole account. Mr Cole suggests that the Yoruba social system, which so strongly affected the political development of Lagos, provided a pattern for politics throughout southern Nigeria. While other patterns were also used, especially in the east, one certainly cannot read of the intricate struggles for power in colonial Lagos without thinking of many similar contests after independence. This continuity applies to ordinary citizens as well as to the elite. The Lagosian who sees it as "his duty to avoid, renegue [*sic*], or obstruct passively the orders of government" has many counterparts elsewhere in the country.

Mr Cole, a Lagosian himself, is at his best in his rather partisan account of Herbert Macaulay. He is at his worst in the jargon-ridden introduction and the first few pages of Chapter 1, where he skips back and forth through the whole period to be covered, leaving the reader in confusion. Once he has settled down to an ordered narrative, the writing is clear and straightforward, with only a brief reappearance of jargon in the conclusion. There are a few slips. The present population of Lagos is nearer two than one million. The Aba riots left fifty-three dead rather than "a hundred". The book by Hugh and Mabel Smythe is *The New Nigerian Elite* and Babatunde Williams's book *Urban Government for Metropolitan Lagos* was co-authored with A. H. Walsh. This is not quite the first account of the development of Lagos (as advertised on the jacket); Pauline Baker's *Urbanization and Political Change: the Politics of Lagos 1917-1967* came out some months earlier. The two books supplement each other admirably, and both should be read by anyone who wants to understand Nigerian politics today.

While it seems churlish to complain about a hardback book selling for £1.75, Mr Nkemdirim's treatment of colonial violence is really too thin to be very useful and is sometimes naive and misleading. For example, he says that the regional boundaries with which Nigeria came to independence "had been in place for centuries". He treats the Kano and Tiv riots as isolated incidents, neglecting even to mention the Aba riots of 1929, the Western Region riots following Adelabu's death in 1958, or the election violence in all three regions in 1959. For the two incidents reported, his sources appear to be limited to newspaper accounts (which are lively in language but short on facts), the official report (not unaffected by the need for governmental justification) and a very selective use of the work of other scholars. There is, for example, no reference to John N. Paden's paper on the Kano riots, which answers many of the questions on participation so inadequately treated here. Only one of M. J. Dent's papers on the Tiv is listed. The author also chooses to de-emphasize ethnic factors, which were important in both cases. Why were so many Ibo and so few Yoruba attacked in Kano if the incitement was largely by Yoruba political leaders? He seems to think that Action Group money was far more important than Tiv traditional polity in placing the uprising against the Northern People's Congress in Tivland. The Tiv deserve more credit for running their own affairs. Now that the author has returned to Nigeria, one hopes that he will find time for the more extensive study of the role of violence which is needed.

The documentary approach

By Richard Hodder-Williams

ELAINE WINDRICH :

The Rhodesian Problem

A Documentary Record 1923-1973

312pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £5.95.

The immediate reaction to most collections of documents is to cavil at this inclusion or bemoan that exclusion; it is, I think, inevitable, and Elaine Windrich's choice of material for her documentary record, *The Rhodesian Problem*, is unsurprisingly not mine in every particular. What is indisputable is the variety of sources she has turned to and the range of opinions presented, so there is no lack of interest here. But, more to the point, does this collection of material—for it is by no means all documents—fulfil its intended purpose?

The general editor's preface sets out the aim of the series of which this is the tenth volume, and it is an ambitious one. Intended as a source-book for sixth formers and undergraduates, each volume is supposed to present a range of material—primary, secondary, interpretative—which introduces students not only to a fuller understanding of a specific problem but also to a more sophisticated assessment of historical evidence. This establishes clearly what functions the documents are *not* intended to fulfil.

The "great" state papers will not be found here, although parts of some will; important reports now unavailable are not reproduced, although parts of one are; some ephemeral material is included, but in a rather haphazard way; no attempt is made to collate a set of scholarly readings, although parts of some articles are reprinted. What we have is a melange of royal commission, government statement, parliamentary speech, reminiscence, polemic, academic analysis, and journalists' overview. To that extent, therefore, students are introduced to a variety of types of sources which also provide one basis for discussion of the Rhodesian problem.

The result is not altogether successful. Apart from the probability that students are unlikely to spend £5.95 on a source-book, this volume disappoints in two important ways. Although the connecting commentary is commendably brief, it seems primarily concerned to present a point of view, not to illustrate "how historical judgments are formed" or to teach students how "to discriminate among a number of sources and to weigh the evidence". Indeed, the precise circumstances surrounding each so-called document is seldom made explicit and thus the book's virtues as a tool for learning historical methodology is minimized. In some cases, furthermore, most notably in the section on the creation of the Central African Federation, only those already acquainted with many of the details will be able to understand fully all the excerpts.

The second weakness concerns the balance of material. Dr Windrich's introduction concludes with a series of questions, many of which concern British action or non-action, to which students should address themselves. And yet one looks in vain for material on which those questions could possibly be answered. British parliamentary debates and domestic political priorities could have been exemplified, and even the impact of civil service advice and comments for the early years. The lack of statistical material, on population, on the armed forces, even on electoral behaviour, is a pity. Historical analysis, however subjective it may be, should rest on firmer foundations than protagonists' appreciation of their political world, important though that is. The last section, on the liberation movement, is perhaps inevitably a weak one, for it was always likely to be overtaken by events. Even so, the sort of evidence provided by Wilkinson and Maxey, especially reports of trials inside Rhodesia for example, might have been more appropriate.

This last observation is suspiciously like the criticism so easily made of any documentary collection, that the reviewer would have chosen differently. It is not here, however, that this book's weakness mainly lies but in Dr Windrich's commentary on her material. For teachers, it is fortunately the material which is most important and, had this book been less expensive, it might have provided a useful framework round which to mould a course on Rhodesia's contemporary history.

Town traditionalists

By Kenneth Little

MARION KILSON :
African Urban Kinsmen
The Ga of Central Accra
122pp. C. Hurst. £5.

MICHAEL A. COHEN :
Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa
A Study of the Ivory Coast
262pp. University of Chicago Press. £8.10.

Most "modern" sub-Saharan cities have an extremely heterogeneous population based substantially upon first and second-generation immigrants. Well-known examples are Nairobi, Abidjan, Kinshasa, Accra, Dar es Salaam and Kampala. Numbers of these newcomers assimilate quite readily to an urban social system whose values are largely Western-orientated and more individualistic than those of the rural societies whence they mostly come. Others, however, retain most of their customary habits and even endeavour to continue in the urban situation their traditional social organization. Except at work, they take little or no part in local institutions and they restrict their social contacts to members of their own ethnic group.

The existence of these urban "pockets" of traditionalism has been widely studied. Less often examined is the persistence also of traditionalism among "indigenous" town-dwellers whose social relations, unlike those of the labour migrant, are fully encompassed by the urban system.

Marion Kilson's *African Urban Kinsmen* documents in detail the ethnography of one such "core population" and provides an illuminative analysis of the continuity and change involved in its adaptation to modern industrial conditions. Using the Ga of central Accra as a case-study, she deals in turn with their historical and demographic background, the basic conceptions and institutions of Ga kinship, the relationship between these ideas and contemporary residential units, and the ways in which kinship conceptions of networks are maintained through life-crisis ceremonies. A final chapter explores the factors affecting adherence to traditional cultural conceptions.

Among several interesting findings is the fact that life-crisis ceremonies are "viable" to the extent that they serve—sometimes in a modified form—modern social needs. Naming ceremonies and funerary rites, for example, are occasions for conspicuous consumption and so provide individuals and families with opportunities of gaining prestige. New forms of interpersonal relations based on non-kinship principles also find expression for similar reasons. Thus, although at the naming ceremony of a child an esteemed kinsman of the same sex traditionally shows the infant to the morning star, nowadays a close friend of the parents may be invited to assume this role. To be "Christian" is also socially important; but whether Christian or pagan rites are carried out depends upon the deceased person's status, because if he held high rank in the traditional system this takes precedence. It will necessitate the use of pall-bearers to transport the corpse, this being a way of expressing and affirming networks of association within the Ga community. The use of a hearse focuses on the individual alone.

Another significant discovery was that in this "core population" adult females preponderate numerically over males. The reason, apparently, is that men being socially more mobile move out of central Accra. In accounting for this and other social changes Professor Kilson lays a good deal of stress on what she calls "the modernization process". True, Western influences and education do obviously affect behaviour; but my own feeling is that to understand urbanization of this kind cultural relations have to be taken in conjunction with social ones. In other words, what is involved in addition is the acceptance of modern lifestyles in order to make and to keep up with new urban-bred friends and associates.

Michael Cohen's *Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa* is also a case-study. Taking the Ivory Coast as an example of the single-party state, he examines political conflict between the "haves" and the "have-nots". The "haves" are broadly the administrative class and the conflict itself seems to be largely of the "haves'" own making because development in the Ivory Coast has been conceived of mainly in urban terms. This has had the effect of stimulating the movement of very large numbers of rural people into the towns, especially Abidjan, without providing them with the means of attaining an adequate standard of living. The result—as this previously very heterogeneous population becomes "urbanized"—has been a switch from the ethnic politics paramount at the stage of independence to political activity on non-ethnic lines. For example, tenants' unions, associations of unemployed youth and labour unions have been formed and become of major significance. Mr Cohen describes this growth and the various strategies employed by the "government" (in effect, the "haves") to retain their virtually monopolistic control of resources, including land, property, secondary education, etc.

The Ivory Coast's achievement in this way of a "state capitalist" approach to development problems is attributed largely to the personal influence and direction of President Houphouet-Boigny. His charismatic role suggests some interesting comparisons with that of Nkrumah. Nevertheless, it is Mr Cohen's thesis that, in a developmental state, political power is the key to public authority and the goods and services produced and distributed by the public institutions. This, he considers, contradicts Marxist theory concerning the part played by economic classes.

I think that Mr Cohen should remember also that African peoples are very well accustomed to political power as a source of wealth and status. The former colonialists exercised such prerogatives and so it is possible that previous African attitudes have carried over, causing the new generations as well to regard political power as providing its own justification.

This objection notwithstanding we learn a good deal from Mr Cohen about the interrelationship of politics and urbanization. Since this is contemporary Africa's most pressing social and economic problem I hope that his book will be widely read.

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On the slopes of Kilimanjaro

By William Tordoff

JOEL SAMOFF :
Tanzania
Local Politics and the Structure of Power
286pp. The University of Wisconsin Press (AUPG). £6.75.

Joel Samoff's study explores the nature of politics in the urban area centred on Moshi, a small bustling town in northern Tanzania lying at the foot of snow-capped Kilimanjaro—Africa's highest mountain. Though the Chagga peoples, who have prospered by growing coffee on the fertile mountain slopes, look upon Moshi as "their town", it has in fact a heterogeneous population, numbering some 27,000 in 1967. There is a close interaction between the town and its rural hinterland. Moshi is the hub of a district (Kilimanjaro) which, in the colonial period, was successively the scene of intense inter-chiefdom rivalry and of a vigorous Chagga nationalism. Today, under the impact of the equalization policies pursued by President Nyerere's government, it is striving to retain the advantages of prosperity and education which it enjoys relative to most other parts of the country. Kilimanjaro therefore constitutes something of a challenge for Nyerere who, in the Arusha Declaration of 1967, initiated a strategy of development (discussed by Dr Samoff in his concluding chapter) based on self-reliance and self-denial.

Following a brief historical overview, the author examines the conflict over the allocation of resources in Moshi through detailed studies of three key issues—primary education, liquor licensing, and jobs. He finds that the churches and their representatives—and not the government or the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) or the education committee of the district council—played the dominant role in the politics of education in Kilimanjaro. Despite a national policy calling for restraint, primary education in Kilimanjaro continued to expand: several Kilimanjaro leaders confessed that they were able to support Tanzania's 1967 leadership code "in spirit now, and would support it in practice as soon as their children were educated". On the second issue—that of liquor licensing—the author concludes that here too effective allocations were not made by the relevant formal body in Kilimanjaro, the Liquor Licensing Board. The decision-making process was distorted by bureaucratic incompetence and corruption, to the advantage of the larger and richer bar-owners. Again, therefore, national policy was frustrated. The third issue studied was jobs and unemployment: the finding here is that the interests of the large number of unemployed young people were not effectively represented by either government or party institutions.

Since "nongovernmental decision-making was clearly a significant element in the allocation of resources at the local level", Dr Samoff correctly concludes that to concentrate on legislation and rules is to miss the essence of Tanzanian politics. With this *caveat* in mind, he examines the formal institutions of local government in Moshi—the town council and the various development committees. The council is shown not to be the major source of authoritative allocations in Moshi; indeed, it only dealt with low-level issues.

Since Dr Samoff completed his research, the Moshi town council and, for that matter, all the former local authorities in Tanzania have been abolished under the so-called "decentralization" measures of 1972. A new District Development Council has been established in each district (including Kilimanjaro): it includes some local representatives, but is staffed by officials employed by the central government. Its executive arm is a revised version of the former District Development and Planning Committee which, together with the Kilimanjaro Regional Development Committee, is examined in *Tanzania*. Dr Samoff concludes that the work of these committees in Kilimanjaro was hampered by the lack of a clear association between structure and purpose. They gave more attention to social services, such as schools and clinics, than to development projects and, since they were dominated and controlled by government officials, functioned largely to legitimize the government proposals placed before them.

Dr Samoff's examination of the local political leadership leads him to assert that Moshi has a plural power structure and lacks a single and cohesive ruling elite. He points to a considerable overlapping of political roles and a blurring of the lines separating party and government. The leaders, largely local in origin and resembling the local people in ethnic and religious make-up, were at best "facilitators but not initiators of change". In fact, effective leaders displayed an ability to resist central intrusion into local affairs and some of them had grown fat on business ventures, thereby proving self-relia[illegible] acting in defiance of the T[illegible] socialist ethic.

Dr Samoff also provides [illegible] evidence to show that [illegible] TANU organization in Ki[illegible] was "a coalition of [illegible] rather than a monolithic [illegible] tion. It was not a major [illegible] social change and, being re[illegible] to local demands, often [illegible] unable or unwilling to i[illegible] directives from the centre. [illegible] theless, it mediated local [illegible] helped to promote commu[illegible] gration, fulfilled importan[illegible] nication functions and le[illegible] change initiated by other [illegible] tions.

This is a scholarly, c[illegible] researched and readable b[illegible] I have only a few, mainly [illegible] criticisms. Dr Samoff refer[illegible] well-developed patterns of [illegible] action between Moshi and i[illegible] hinterland, but does not [illegible] explore these links. He refe[illegible] vincingly to the shifting sali[illegible] ethnicity and religion in [illegible] jaro, but might have pai[illegible] attention to the traditions an[illegible] systems of the Chagga and [illegible] peoples who inhabit the area. [illegible] the concluding chapter [illegible] "politics of self-reliance" [illegible] much interesting comment, [illegible] it is of marginal relevance [illegible] preceding study. In gener[illegible] Samoff is modestly deferen[illegible] his preferred authorities, [illegible] departing from them in th[illegible] of his own empirical finding[illegible] he is very uncritical in his [illegible] ences to exponents of the [illegible] "development of underd[illegible] ment" school. It seems to m[illegible] the process of underdevelo[illegible] is too large, complex and [illegible] tious a theme to introduce [illegible] conclusion of a locally based [illegible]

Finally, in the light of h[illegible] findings, the prescriptions [illegible] by Dr Samoff—notably, [illegible] strategy of development "[illegible] designed to challenge the [illegible] leadership and to restructu[illegible] political base of the regime [illegible] be immensely difficult to [illegible] To take one example: those [illegible] base as well as those at the [illegible] of the local political system [illegible] expected to react sharply [illegible] national leadership should [illegible] its present policy and seek to [illegible] form existing patterns of [illegible] organization and landhold[illegible] Kilimanjaro. If reform is [illegible] achieved without coercion [illegible] prove successful and lasting, [illegible] be socially validated, and [illegible] leadership which ignores the [illegible] lished tradition of individua[illegible] ing on the slopes of Kilim[illegible] will remove its own power[illegible]

Delusions of independence

By J. D. Hargreaves

DOV RONEN :
Dahomey
Between tradition and modernity
272pp. Cornell University Press. £9.10.

Victorians made the African kingdom of Dahomey a stereotype of sanguinary savagery; the larger republic which has inherited the name can be used to illustrate the delusions of independence. An export economy still largely dominated by the oil-palm lies low in the United Nations tables of Gross National Product; a charming but overgrown intelligentsia competes for public offices whose emoluments consume two thirds of public revenue. Since 1960 the bewildering alternation of political leadership within a narrow circle of politicians has been punctuated by six "interventions" by the army, the latest of which has now lasted three years.

Dov Ronen's valuable study *Dahomey: Between Tradition and Modernity* elucidates these changes, providing a solid context for the activities of presidents Apithy, Ahomadegbe, Maga and Zinsou, and their various ephemeral parties. His explanation is a sophisticated version of what might be called the "Unchanging Africa" doctrine: Dahomey has experienced a "traditionalization of modern imported institutions". Political parties, promoted by good French rhetoric, are in fact dependent upon bonds of kinship and religion evoked through chiefs—not the *fonctionnaires* utilized as agents of French administration, but traditional leaders whose ascriptive authority survived colonial rule. A politician is regarded as a superchief, elected for life (and with lifelong powers of patronage); his fall raises fears of dominance by others. Political activity has thus reinforced traditional or (since 1951) regional loyalties at the expense of any sense of modern nationality.

Mr Ronen rightly emphasizes the fundamental importance of the gap, in outlook and in wealth, between the rural masses and the 2 per cent of the population earning wages and salaries; but, as he recognizes, to identify these elements with "tradition" and "modernity" is to use blunt instruments of analysis. Underlining the continuity of "tradition", he argues that before the French occupation such "modernizing" influences as slave traders, missionaries and Brazilian repatriates remained strictly marginal; he largely accepts Polanyi's "substantivist" view of precolonial economic history.

But Mr Ronen seems in his reading to have neglected many authors who show how southern Dahomeans responded to these contacts, economically and politically; his bibliography includes no work by Asiwaju, Hopkins, Manning, [illegible] or Suret-Canale, and lit[illegible] Coquery. He claims, for ex[illegible] that "the perfect cyc[illegible] rotation" in the royal succes[illegible] Porto Novo was first upset [illegible] French in 1908; in fact [illegible] precisely the determinati[illegible] nineteenth-century rulers [illegible] external influences to chan[illegible] traditional system to their [illegible] tage which opened the way [illegible] intrusion of French power.

One may also questio[illegible] Ronen's view that Dahomey's [illegible] ure to produce a nationalist [illegible] party is unique in West A[illegible] more sustained compariso[illegible] Nigeria might suggest that [illegible] mey's post-war problems hav[illegible] died those of her larger nei[illegible] In both countries reforms, [illegible] Second World War led po[illegible] to focus their ambitions on [illegible] of a region (though in D[illegible] within a unitary consti[illegible] structure); in both, the "ba[illegible] consciousness of a [illegible] north" was initially stimul[illegible] colonial administrators. In [illegible] post-independence crises cen[illegible] claims for office and its per[illegible] by competing elites, rather [illegible] deeper social disparities [illegible] were eventually contained b[illegible] tary rule (which, in Nige[illegible] volved a bloody civil war, in [illegible] may the ritualization of the [illegible] Mr Ronen attempts such com[illegible] ons only in conclusion, apply[illegible] Dahomey a hint of Asi[illegible] restored civilian rule in the [illegible] might be combined with co[illegible] ing military control at the [illegible]

The social casualty ward

By Anthony Delius

[illegible] MICHELMAN :
[illegible]ack Sash of South Africa
[illegible] Published for the Institute [illegible] Relations, by Oxford Uni[illegible] Press. £6.50.

[illegible]r there was a lost cause it [illegible]eem to be that of the Black [illegible]f South Africa. Could there [illegible]e a more pathetic belief [illegible]he one which first brought [illegible] mainly middle-class and [illegible]aged white women of this [illegible]tion together, that by [illegible] various political occasions [illegible] the black sash of official [illegible] they could bring about a [illegible] reformation in South African public life? Their faith was that the sight of this lugubrious emblem would somehow pierce the chainmail of nationalist righteousness and prick the consciences of the country's Afrikaner rulers into shame and repentance.

Yet from such unpromising beginnings these tenacious women have struggled through twenty years of disillusion to play a unique role among the harshest realities of South African life. From the ineffectual gestures of the mid-1950s the 1,200 Black Sash members who have survived cheers, mockery, and finally almost total disregard now find their main task is to be Florence Nightingales among the social casualties in the shambles of apartheid.

The course of their conversion to this reality has been traced by an American lecturer in government, Cherry Michelman, in what first saw light as a doctoral thesis. Indeed her subtitle is "A Case Study in Liberalism". Her book, however, is an absorbing account of how once politically innocent women have turned from high-minded nineteenth-century optimism (a lot of nineteenth-century attitudes have had an extraordinarily long run in South Africa) to face the more brutal confusions of the twentieth century. Some of the worst of these confusions lie in and around apartheid.

One of the main aims of the apartheid or "race separation" policy is to remove as many as possible of the black citizens, who are in the majority in every so-called "white" city in South Africa, to officially decreed "black areas", the largely economically stagnant tribal homelands. The attempt has failed hopelessly but the machinery intended to carry it out flounders on without pause. Daily it traps thousands of Africans in bureaucratic mazes that would stagger even the imagination of a Kafka. Any black man or woman caught in these trammels is likely to be ripped out of familiar surroundings, sent away from friends and loved ones, even spend a spell in prison, before finding himself or herself transported to bare subsistence in some rural slum. The only light in this man-made Hades is provided by the advice officers of the Black Sash, where the members labour to extricate as many victims as they can from being "endorsed out".

These tireless women do not regard themselves, or invite others to regard them, as heroines. They are not even very hopeful that what they are doing is ultimately going to have any influence on the future. They are inclined today to accept Pastor Niemoller's reason for his lonely resistance to the Nazis, that to do what one considers right is its own justification.

But, then again, to quote Dr Michelman, "South Africa, in spite of many alarming parallels, is not yet Nazi Germany". It has a relatively free press, law courts capable of independent action, a (white) opposition, and some sharp black and coloured critics still tolerated inside the country.

The Black Sash leader, Jean Sinclair, still feels that, just as increasing experience of the social realities of black existence in South Africa has changed the views of the Black Sash over twenty years, it will change the attitudes of most of the whites. So the Black Sash continues to show up repressive legislation, organize protests, and issue Fabian-style pamphlets advertising the miseries of the blacks and the coloureds under apartheid. The question is, has white South Africa got another twenty years to absorb the lessons of this reeducation?

The Black Sash are sometimes accused by some of retarding revolutionary change in South Africa by softening the impact of apartheid. Certainly its members are not supporters of revolution. They believe that, at best, revolution "would exchange white racism for black racism". Dr Michelman speaks of the "double burden of fear" of liberals in South Africa:

> They see that the political and economic repression of the non-whites, to which the white supremacists are resorting in the name of Western civilisation, is inviting the very holocaust the whites so openly fear. They see the spiritual degradation of the beneficiaries as well as the victims of apartheid. . . .

And what goes on in so much of the rest of Africa is not helping to increase white sensitivity to black suffering, or lessen white dread of majority rule.

Despite all distractions, the women of the Black Sash go steadily on with their self-appointed task of providing what relief they can in the conviction that "apartheid is wrong and the suffering it entails is evil". They have little hope that their work will be justified by any events in the immediate future. But one dares to cherish greater expectation for the long-term future of humanity because there are such people.

The fifth edition of Arthur Keppel-Jones's standard short history *South Africa* (251pp. Hutchinson University Library. £3.95. Paperback, £1.95) still opens, in the traditional way, with the arrival of the Portuguese at the Cape in 1488; it concludes with the Spinola-led revolt in Portugal in 1974 and the start of the process—so ominous for southern Africa—of dismantling the Portuguese empire in Africa.

[illegible]he spirit of the *platteland*

[illegible]lius Lewin

[illegible] MOODIE :
[illegible]e of Afrikanerdom
[illegible], Apartheid, and the Afri[illegible] Civil Religion
[illegible] University of California [illegible] (IBEG). £6.25.

[illegible] M. STULTZ :
[illegible] Politics in South Africa
[illegible]
[illegible] University of California [illegible] £6.

[illegible]arly 300 years since a white [illegible] in southern Africa first [illegible] himself an Afrikaner, and [illegible] a century before the [illegible] took the Cape from the [illegible] Although the Afrikaners [illegible] long held a key position in [illegible] there are surprisingly few [illegible] devoted to them and none [illegible] social scientists would agree to [illegible] excellent. This fact itself [illegible] some explanation. The [illegible] that the Afrikaners are [illegible] nation destined to survive [illegible] black continent was delayed [illegible] after they first acquired political power in 1948. Before that date they were known to the world as "the Boers". No doubt they are still so called in many a British school history book. Yet they ceased to be mainly farmers half a century ago when they began to trek to the cities from their beloved *platteland*. Today farmers and their families constitute less than 15 per cent of the white population in an industrialized society.

What needs to be analysed is the means whereby the Afrikaners established and have maintained their domination of South Africa. Their impregnable position was not built in a day or in a decade. By an irony of history, it was the war they lost at the turn of the nineteenth century that, by stimulating nationalism, led to the conquest of power by the aggrieved Afrikaners. By the time they won political power, two generations later, their national character had long been firmly formed. It had indeed been moulded in the eighteenth century. C. W. de Kiewiet wrote:

> Isolation sank into their character. Their power of endurance could lead them to resist all innovation and to be suspicious of the foreigner and contemptuous of their inferiors. For education the trekkers read their Bibles intensively, drawing from the Old Testament, which spoke the authentic language of their lives, a justification of themselves, their beliefs, and their habits.

It is the influence of the Afrikaners' brand of religion on their racial policy which primarily interests T. Dunbar Moodie in *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*. To trace the connexion he has taken extraordinary pains, drawing on extensive sources, mainly written in Afrikaans, which others have lacked the capacity or the patience to wade through. It is good to have these sources tapped, but many readers will wish that Mr Moodie had subdued them with more discrimination. Had he done so, he might have asked himself why there is such a contrast between rhetoric and reality in Afrikaner politics.

According to his preface, Mr Moodie received, at Rhodes University, "a liberal education in my illiberal homeland". Despite his liberalism he fails to recognize that apartheid owes more to economic and social causes than to religion. His book takes far too seriously and relies much too heavily on the verbiage which has always obscured the realities of apartheid. First called segregation and—the term apartheid having been discarded—now described as "separate development", South Africa's policy has not succeeded by means of fresh labels in diminishing the worldwide odium it has encountered.

By devoting his pages so plentifully to what Afrikaners argue (and imagine) they are doing, Mr Moodie leaves himself too little space to consider two other significant aspects of his subject. One is the various financial and economic institutions of their own which the Afrikaners created from 1938 and which flourished after 1948 when they could count on their government's assistance. Unaided by the state, the Afrikaners would have had to spend many more years before they could accumulate enough capital to challenge the supremacy of British investments.

But they were not slow to use the machinery of the state to promote their own purposes so successfully as to become partners with the English in developing the whole economy to the degree of strength and stability it enjoys at present.

The other aspect calling for deeper analysis is Afrikaner nationalism, infected as it was by national socialism, especially in the 1940s. On his last page Mr Moodie suggests that Mr Vorster is taking the country back to authoritarianism of the type contemplated in the 1930s. This view seems to be borne out by the current persecution of the Christian Institute established by the dissenting predikant, Beyers Naude, and, oddly enough, not mentioned in *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*.

Newell M. Stultz, in *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa*, is puzzled by the failure of Afrikaners and the English-speaking minority to sustain in cooperation a viable political party. He attributes this to the country's active participation under Smuts in the war against Hitler, a view difficult to accept. To believe that if South Africa had remained neutral, its history after 1945 would have taken a very different course, is to ignore the deeper social forces at work both within the country and far beyond its frontiers.

[illegible]he patriarchal mode

[illegible] Peter Warwick

[illegible]NES MEINTJES :
[illegible] Paul Kruger
[illegible] Cassell. £6.25.

[illegible] Kruger enjoyed a remarkably [illegible] career, and has lived on as a [illegible] figure in Afrikaner cul[illegible] He was born in 1825 into a [illegible] eastern Cape family which [illegible] later accompanied Hend[illegible] Potgieter on the Great Trek. [illegible] as a young man was present [illegible] at the signing of the Sand [illegible] Convention—which ostensibly [illegible] the Voortrekker com[illegible] beyond the Vaal river [illegible] further British interference [illegible] internal affairs—and he [illegible] a member of the committee [illegible] for drafting the Trans[illegible] constitution, which declared: [illegible] people are not prepared to [illegible] equality of the non-white [illegible] the white inhabitants, either [illegible] or State."

[illegible] the age of thirty-eight Kruger [illegible] elected commandant-general, [illegible] this capacity he played a [illegible] part in the conflicts with [illegible] African societies of the region [illegible] land and livestock, and a [illegible] role in the ecclesiastical, [illegible] and personal disputes [illegible] the emigrant communities. [illegible] his relentless opposi[illegible] the British annexation [illegible] Transvaal in 1877, he [illegible] elected president of the [illegible] after the successful "first [illegible] independence", an office he [illegible] amid rapidly changing [illegible] brought about by the exploitation of the unprecedented gold deposits discovered on the Witwatersrand, until he finally succumbed to British militarism in 1900. He left Africa for the last time aboard the man-of-war Gelderland, bound for the Netherlands, where he died in 1904.

Johannes Meintjes's *President Paul Kruger* attempts to extract "the man as a personality from a veritable bog of hostility and sentiment, prejudice and deification". He presents a portrait of a tenacious, irascible and sometimes severe man, who believed that God had entrusted him with the leadership of his people to preserve their independence and cultural identity, a mission which became the all-consuming passion of his life. Although Kruger received little or no formal education—he was the only Afrikaner statesman to use an interpreter all the time—he recognized the need to make use of the intellectual talent of young and ambitious men who were sympathetic to the Afrikaner cause; both W. J. Leyds and J. C. Smuts were appointed state-attorney before they were thirty. Kruger also showed a flexibility of mind and an ability to adapt to changing circumstances for which he has not always been credited.

The establishment of the second Volksraad in 1891 as a forum for mining and industrial interests (but over which the first Volksraad retained the right of veto), and the construction of a railway from the Witwatersrand to the Mozambican port of Lourenço Marques, represented attempts to modernize the republic within a political system controlled by the Afrikaner people—or more precisely by an increasingly powerful, though by no means cohesive, group of notables, including the Kruger family, which used its domination of the machinery of government and the opportunities afforded by the discovery of gold to speculate in land and concessions, and to invest in new industrial enterprises. (In one of Kruger's most successful transactions he purchased Geduld-Springs farm for £700 shortly after the reef discoveries, and after buying the half-share of his son-in-law, Frikkie Eloff, for £3,000 in 1891, sold the farm to the Springs Real Estate Company for £107,700.)

Mr Meintjes's biography, however, is often misleading, since he ascribes to Kruger original ideas and policies which were largely a response to the need to proceed cautiously in the Volksraad, and to find a middle path between his conservative and "progressive" opponents.

The author's reluctance to discuss the charges of Kruger's Afrikaner critics, whose opposition almost lost him the presidency in 1892, seriously impairs the study; in particular, mention should have been made of the criticisms of financial immorality, from which the Kruger and Eloff families were by no means immune, levelled against his regime in the Volksraad and the Afrikaans press. It is also possible to suggest that while Kruger's religious conviction was profound and unshakable—Mr Meintjes argues that he conceived of the South African Republic as a theocracy—he frequently used the Bible as a useful instrument of statecraft; he rarely advanced an argument or put forward a policy, whatever its nature, without recourse to biblical justification.

Nonconformity in Modern British Politics STEPHEN KOSS
In a work of original and extensive research, Professor Koss highlights the important and fascinating part played by Nonconformists in modern British politics - from their dramatic re-entry into the political arena in the opening years of the century until their decline in the 1930's. The study traces the interaction between politics and religion, policy and personality, during a critical period of modern British history.
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272 pages £7.00
BATSFORD

The estates of Cork

By Joseph Lee

JAMES S. DONNELLY, Jr:
The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork
The Rural Economy and the Land Question
440pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £9.95.

Local history has been conspicuously neglected by modern Irish historians. There has been no attempt to emulate E.R.R. Green's pioneering survey, *The Lagan Valley, 1800-1850* (1949). Two fine German works, Ingoborg Leister's *Das Werden der Agrarlandschaft in der Grafschaft Tipperary (Irland)* (1963) and Peter Alter's *Die irische Nationalbewegung zwischen Parlament und Revolution Der konstitutionelle Nationalismus in Irland, 1880-1918* (1971), which includes a case-study of Cork, have received little attention in Ireland. None of these works, however, quite equals the scope or approach of James S. Donnelly's study, which deserves close evaluation as the first detailed survey of the socio-economic history of an Irish county throughout the nineteenth century.

Dr Donnelly, a young American, has been indefatigable in tracking down elusive records, especially estate papers, which have suffered a dismal mortality rate in the rebel county. He has acquired access to thirty-one sets of estate papers by a variety of means, including some "not easily described", as he discreetly puts it. Never before have so many estate papers been used in a single study on Irish history. Dr Donnelly's very success raises questions about the most effective use of these sources. It sounds the height of ingratitude to say so, in view of his herculean endeavours, but Dr Donnelly has used *only* thirty-one sets of estate records. Apart from a few others to which even his persistence and ingenuity failed to gain access, only a handful more can still survive. It seems unlikely, then, that records referring to the affairs of more than 5 per cent of the roughly 1,000 estates in mid-nineteenth century Cork will ever be recovered. How adequate can this sample hope to be?

The evidence suffices to illustrate the day-to-day functioning of tenurial systems and the impact of the land legislation. Dr Donnelly has used his highly intractable material with surpassing skill to analyse the collapse of the conacre system during the Famine, the tensions between both tenants and labourers and tenants and landlords, the precise meaning of Free Sale, the impact of the Incumbered Estates Act of 1849 and the Land Acts of 1870, 1881 and 1887, the role of the land agent, the course of the Land War and the working of the Plan of Campaign. In addition, he supplements the estate papers with discerning use of the records of the Poor Law Boards of Guardians to provide a convincing description of the manner in which cottiers were prized loose from their holdings during the Famine.

Estate papers, especially when used in conjunction with local newspapers, a source that Dr Donnelly has also exploited with unprecedented thoroughness, provide indispensable data on short-term price movements. Dr Donnelly modifies the series for cattle in Barrington's well-known price index, which was based on the returns of prices at the May fairs. He is able to show that in 1879 and 1887 prices fell sharply below the May levels later in the year. The modification does not require any serious revision of the trend, but it is indispensable in establishing, for instance, the precise relationship between price movements and agrarian outrage.

For other purposes, however, the estate records are likely to prove much less helpful. Ironically enough, the people they bring most vividly to life are the land agents, an interesting and important, but unrepresentative, group. Indeed "the people" of *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork* generally remain rather faceless, not to say figureless, for the female of the Cork species intrudes only rarely, a dispensation for which some readers will, no doubt, be profoundly grateful. Estate papers are of limited help on questions that can be satisfactorily answered only on the basis of systematic quantitative information. The data on rents reveal the predominance of influences peculiar to the individual estates and do not bring us much closer to satisfactory estimates of overall rent movements. Dr Donnelly therefore sometimes finds himself reduced to the "on the one hand, on the other" incantation that has traditionally satisfied less rigorous scholars.

He rightly emphasizes that east and west Cork constituted two different economies. The county does not make a natural unit of socio-economic study. However, he has to take his estates where he finds them, and he is not always able to sift the sources to distinguish what is peculiar to the estate from what is general to the local economy, however that may be defined. He shows sufficient awareness of the problem to import data from Kerry in an interesting discussion of landlord attitudes towards subdivision after the Famine. He might usefully have adopted the same course in his valuable analysis of agrarian outrage in the 1880s, when the pattern of activity in north-west Cork approximated more closely to that of east Kerry than of east Cork.

The official agricultural and population statistics, on which Dr Donnelly has drawn extensively, are aggregated by county, and this alone makes the county much the most convenient, if not the most satisfactory, unit of study for these central topics. Nevertheless, the link between the estate and the county remains a tenuous one. In view of the efficiency with which Dr Donnelly uses baronial statistics on the relatively rare occasions he resorts to them, he might usefully have sacrificed some of his competent but superfluous summaries of the national situation, and some excess detail at the estate level, for more comparison of differences within the county from this source.

Even at the county level, the balance Dr Donnelly strikes between his different sources raises some queries. In particular, he does not quantify Cork agricultural output and income. The illuminating discussion of living standards between 1851 and 1891 therefore remains, despite the number of statistics cited, essentially impressionistic. The depth of Dr Donnelly's knowledge and the balance of his judgment command re… but more systematic analysis of … statistics into which he has alre… delved would have allowed him … consolidate his conclusions.

Dr Donnelly has succumbed … familiar temptation in contend… that Cork "has some claim to … regarded as a microcosm of … entire country". Cork was, it is true, the biggest of the thirty… counties, comprising about 10 … cent of the national area and p… ulation. The east-west differe… certainly reflected the national … tern. In three important respe… however, Cork was unrepresen… tive. First, farms were distinctly … ger than the national aver… Secondly, about double the natio… proportion of farms appear to h… been held on lease. It remains co… jectural, therefore, how many g… eralizations can be based on C… data about some aspects of ru… life on which estate evidence … be most instructive. Thirdly, Co… City accounted for about 10-20 … cent of the total population of … county between 1821 and 1891. … Donnelly dismisses the city a li… too impatiently from his study. … could not, of course, have und… taken an urban as well as a ru… history. Nor can the city … described as a dynamo of devel… ment in this period. But distan… from the city might have been d… cussed explicitly, if briefly, as … influence in rural society.

Dr Donnelly's work can stand … its own irrespective of Cork's cl… to microcosmic fame. The validi… of local studies does not depend … the representativeness of the lo… lity. Their broader importance … in the extent to which they sub… modify wider perspectives. T… *Land and the People of Nineteen… Century Cork* succeeds handsom… in this respect. The author's ach… vement greatly clarifies the poss… lities of this type of study. He … mobilized a vast mass of hete… geneous material, and drilled it … disciplined order. He has sho… the way to overcoming so many … the difficulties inherent in Ir… county history that latecomers w… tackle other counties should, … least in theory, enjoy an advant… over him. His success shou… encourage similar studies, but … industry, scholarship and judgme… set a standard that will not … easily emulated.

Worldly wisdom

By Roger Fulford

A. L. ROWSE:
Oxford in the History of the Nation
256pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £4.50.

A member of the Cambridge Apostles once asked why he and his comrades had been graded by heaven high above "those cursed, idiotic oxford [*sic*] brutes". Somewhat less emphatically, Queen Victoria decided that Cambridge "was best for clever people and the other for people of no talents". We feel sure that A. L. Rowse would brush such flippancies to one side, because does he not assure us that Oxford tutors teach for longer hours than do their comrades on the Cam? But there is a point of substance here. Lytton Strachey and his friends, in one of the golden ages of Trinity, despised Oxford because they felt that it was geared to worldly success whereas in their opinion a university should be primarily concerned with solitary self-development and abstract contemplation. "Oxford", said Strachey, "is the glorification of the half and half"—meaning, we can assume, half scholarship and half worldly success. Is it for example relevant to this argument that of the seven prime ministers since 1945 six have been Oxford men? And we should surely include here the name of Gaitskell, who brought into the outside world much of the finer side of Oxford in the 1920s. We have to decide how far Oxford may have influenced the thinking of our statesmen and how far Gladstone was unique in acknowledging this. When he was dying he said of Oxford, "my most earnest prayers are hers to the uttermost and the last". The author of *Oxford in the History of the Nation* will have none of this sort of thing because he feels that politicians strut far too importantly in the pages of history—"we are more interested in cultural history".

But in measuring the influence of the university in the history of the nation, statesmanship or political sway is surely of the first importance, and we are also faced by an enormous field whose bounds are not easily set—that is to say the other Oxford of ordinary men and women, "loud with names that men forget". If the reader considers for a moment the clergy of the seventeenth and succeeding centuries, it was they who carried the learning and traditions of Oxford into the rugged life of the north, the tumbledown wastes of East Anglia and the polish and absurdity of many a southern watering-place. Dr Rowse would fill this gap by saying that these men were merely droning away in their pulpits what they recollected from "the nonsense field of theology". Maybe. He would emphasize his point by going on to say that the reputation of Oxford in the nation was made by the exceptional students, not by the average ones. But this is not all: the influence of Oxford on the legal profession and on the government service is immensely important, and possibly attendance at a branch of the Oxford Society can bring home to us all something of the persistence of Oxford in the history of the modern nation.

So much must necessarily be said to show the size of the subject on which Dr Rowse launches his fierce little boat. To this he might fairly answer that he is less concerned with the fringes of a large subject than with reminding his readers of the glories of Oxford, of which he writes splendidly and with affectionate feeling. Even those familiar with Oxford might be tempted to turn again and look at the Radcliffe after the author's expression of gratitude "for this wonderful work of genius in all its moods". The success of the book rests on two particular qualities. The first is the range of Dr Rowse's knowledge and the second is his abiding curiosity—the curiosity of true scholarship. Although there are plenty of asides in the book to make the reader wince, these should not lead to indignation but rather to an exploration of what the writer has at the back of his mind. For example he tells us that it was a pity that George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, lived so long; though we may note in passing that the good Archbishop died when he was exactly the same age as is Dr Rowse. What he means is that if only the Archbishop had died sooner Laud would have had a longer time at Canterbury. (That might also have been a pity.)

Dr Rowse is extremely unkind about George Eliot whose husband, he tells us, tried to jump out of a window after marrying her. The sin of "the portentous and pretentious novelist" is seemingly that she attacked Edward Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*; but it is certainly some compensation for disagreeing with Dr Rowse that his persuasiveness may compel some readers to draw down *Night Thoughts* from some upper shelf. Dr Rowse's book will lead many to a more vivid understanding of Oxford, though possibly Oxford in its own setting rather than in the world. The book is splendidly illustrated; but the publishers should have seen that the work of those researching the pictures was better explained and more adequately acknowledged.

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The C of I

By Daniel Jenkins

R. B. McDOWELL:
The Church of Ireland 1869-1969
157pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £3.75.

Anglo-Irish relations have been notoriously difficult over the past hundred years and have had their full share of violence and fanaticism. The Anglican Church of Ireland, overwhelmingly the church of the ascendancy for most of this time, and the one commonly regarded as the most colonialist in outlook, might have been expected to have had a stormy history. Yet R. B. McDowell's *The Church of Ireland 1869-1969*, a gentle and amiable account of the life of a singularly gentle and amiable community, suggests nothing of the kind. The opening sentence of the introduction actually says, "The Church of Ireland is a small church in a small country and during the past hundred years being neither rent asunder by schisms or distressed by heresies, it has had a peaceful, uneventful history". And this indeed is the impression left by this lucid and coherent story, told with all the ease of style characteristic of Trinity College, Dublin.

The outside observer conscious of all the trouble the Irish situation has caused over the past hundred years, cannot take quite such a relaxed view of the story. Two questions in particular present themselves. First, why did the Church of Ireland throughout this period show such extraordinary indifference to the outlook, style of life, grievances and aspirations of the vast majority of the population among whom its members lived, particularly in what came to be the Irish Republic? Hardly any references occur in the index to Roman Catholic individuals … institutions, two pages only … devoted to the Home Rule quest… and the Orange Order is not m… tioned at all. Can the Church … Ireland have been quite as bli… ered as that? If so, is it surpr… ing that there was trouble?

This adds sharpness to the seco… question. Professor McDowell brin… out very clearly the degree … privilege which the Church … Ireland and many of her clergy ha… enjoyed for the major part of … past hundred years. He produ… some striking comparisons betw… clerical incomes and those of ot… professional groups up to 19… which reveal that a substantial p… portion of the clergy were am… the very highest paid members … the impoverished Irish commun… even though some of them had … endure the trials of what Prof… McDowell delicately calls und… employment. The Church was … established, it is true, but … remarkably generous terms. … spirit of Barchester seems to h… lingered in Ireland, although … mittedly not much around Belf… long after it had vanished … most of England. Was somebo… somewhere, not measuring up to … responsibilities?

Yet, as anyone who has met … clergy and active members of … Church of Ireland will rea… agree, this picture of a gentle … amiable community is not misle… ing. Professor McDowell does … go into much detail, but there … several hints that on the level … personal relations and day-to-… dealings the Church of Ireland … much more closely involved … the Roman Catholic majority … with the members of other Prot… ant bodies, and that its ele… counted for more in the general … of the community, than the pu… record would suggest. This … not remove the questions, bu… is a reminder that Ireland is a … different country from England … that the answers to them are … likely to be simple or obvious.

…-products of Byzantium

…M. Bryer

…Oaks Papers No 28
…New York: J. J. Augustin.

…3 Dumbarton Oaks Sympo… was on "Art, Letters, and … in Byzantine Provinces". …-sounding papers given … Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, …erges of Byzantine studies, … in a later volume, but … Oaks Papers No 28 has … good articles on the theme. … what constitutes "Provin… … the antithesis of metropol… … just anything that does not … good? Happily A. H. S. … "Byzantine Architecture …ation in Cyprus: Metro… … or Provincial?" does not … space on the question; …warded instead with a valu… … level-headed synthesis of … lifetime's study of the island's monuments. André Guillou has recently asked of another province whether we can speak of Italians in Byzantium or Byzantines in Italy. It is a more fundamental and tricky question than it looks. In art Hans Belting points to two south Italian paradoxes: that the patronage and influence of Byzantine monasteries there only became important after the end of Byzantine rule in 1067; and that much perfectly good Byzantine work was in fact produced outside Byzantine Italy—in, for example, Monte Cassino. But then what was metropolitan to these singular provincials?

In a fascinating article Guillou examines their production and profits, obtaining answers to the sort of questions that Byzantine regional historians are frustrated from asking elsewhere. He maintains that tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine Italy was expanding and that what he calls its cities, or rather bustling "urban centres", were "the first example in the West". They had more wine and mulberry leaves than they needed. One morning St Nil (d 1004) led his monks straight out of the liturgy into their vineyard, which they proceeded largely to cut down "and nobody was able to understand the reason for it". Supressing a strong suspicion that the monks were actually pruning, rather than uprooting, their vines, is the incident evidence of a surplus of wine, or simply of teetotal zeal? Guillou affirms the former and that "excessive drinking went on in south Italy during the first half of the eleventh century even in monasteries, but such excess could not have been great enough to consume the entire surplus of vineyard production". But Guillou's most treasured piece of evidence is his inventory of mulberry trees on which the city of Reggio received fees in *c* 1050, a document which once unrolled for over twenty-two feet. Mulberries, of course, mean silkworms and silk was big business—apparently even bigger than the area's production in 1928. With irresistible, almost zany, detail, Guillou proves that Reggio's 6,425 taxable and therefore productive mulberry trees *should* have produced enough leaves (1,927,500 kg) to feed enough worms (not numbered) to spin enough raw silk (1,606.25 quintals) to fetch 1,254,882.5 dinars on the Cairo market. Give or take a quintal this was obvious prosperity for some, whom Guillou tries to identify.

Kurt Weitzmann and Henry Maguire discuss how far Byzantine art and Byzantine descriptions of art (*ekphraseis*) can be expected to convey palpable reality. Weitzmann shows that Byzantine pilgrim souvenirs depict actual Palestinian holy places. Maguire confirms the truisms that if Byzantine art is today usually appreciated for the wrong reasons, Byzantines themselves almost invariably appreciated it for the wrong (but different) reasons—poor souls, they had never been to Dumbarton Oaks. But Maguire demonstrates that *ekphraseis* can yield truth as well as convention if properly handled as the literary distorting mirrors they are.

With forks and hope Michael Jeffreys pursues the use and origins (in that order) of the fifteen-syllable "political" verse, later to become "the national meter of modern Greece". The pursuit is lengthy and excellent in parts: Jeffreys convincingly explains why the dreadful Tzetzes couched (against all pedantic inclination) his didactic commissions for the imperial family in the vulgar verse. But the pursuit for its origins ends with the *versus quadratus* of Roman acclamations amid the quicksands of Suetonius and the Historia Augusta. Maas warned against this particular hunt. Beside the language, not only are the meters (trochaic, rather than iambic) and the matter (satirical, rather than eulogistic), different, but there is also a gap of crucial centuries between the two—which Jeffreys makes heroic efforts to fill with metric scraps. I do not know if he is right, but the argument is a chain; Jeffreys is the first to admit the obviously weak links, and only one need break.

Lennart Ryden edits some raw meat of popular theology: the views of St Andrew the Fool in Christ on how the world will end. There are useful field reports and notes, including Fikret Yegül's analysis of Ionic impost capitals and a full description of the painted Cypriot church at Monagri by Susan Boyd and others (with Richard Anderson's excellent plans). Dumbarton Oaks sets itself admirable standards, but one wonders if some refinements can really be intentional. This time the pampered reader is spared the toil of turning from Weitzmann's to Maguire's article (or vice-versa) for plates of the Mount Sinai Transfiguration and a Monza ampulla which happen to illustrate both, for they are published twice over—Weitzmann's photographs are better than Maguire's. Such prodigality is awesome.

…ooks …brief

…ology

…, MARIO A. *Etruscan …figured Vase-Painting at …* 160pp and 101 illustra… University of California … £12.35.

…red figure vase painters …ed the finer Athenian …en developed distinctive …ghs but without that flair …estic which many enjoy in …pressions of Etruscan art … Their red figure vase … was comprehensively … J. D. Beazley in 1947 but, … study of a rather repe… …ase within it, Mario A. del … has succeeded in identifying … which was at work in Caere … in the second half of the … century BC. He carefully … his style and works and lists …rates many of them. Their … is pedestrian, their sub… …atter banal, but archaeologi… … is an important work of … and could lead to further … of the artistic pro… … other Etruscan cities.

…, CHARLES. *Early Flying* … Unnumbered pages and … Methuen. £3.75.

…sions in collecting pictures …ing most aeronautical … Charles Gibbs-Smith has now … a set of illustrations … vividly some of the … he has already recorded … why other things besides … of a light engine retarded … of the aeroplane. … that held back the … most designers, until the … brothers showed the way, … most clearly in these pic… … is that the primary … stability whereas it … been control and truly … transformation of power … A wealth of design … behind by Sir Charles … the eighteenth century … neglected and even the … their way to success … their own efforts. … interesting section of … shows that the hang… … today were in use by … in Germany during the … he was killed while flying … Among the pictures … good period pieces, show… … well as technical

… *Class, Culture and Curriculum.* 124pp. Rout… … Kegan Paul. £3 (paper… …).

… combines an intelli… … of the two traditions … education with a useful … how a common curriculum … evolved for the future. He … his terms scrupulously, in… … curriculum which he sees … from the culture of … Before 1944 there was … of high-status knowledge … training for the … society and low-status, elementary practical skills and training for obedience and conformity for the lower orders. Dr Lawton rejects the view that it is necessary to see culture or knowledge in class terms and favours the incorporation of different types of disciplines in planning a curriculum today: mathematics, the sciences, the humanities, the social sciences, the expressive and creative arts and moral education. Teachers will find of particular interest his description of how three very different secondary schools have planned their curricula for mixed ability groupings of pupils on a basic core of subjects so that the course is common to all but open for individual variation.

Local History

PONTING, G. KENNETH. *Wiltshire Portraits.* 167pp. Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press. £4.25.

There are here a dozen short lives of Wiltshire men and women, from Bishop Aldhelm of Sherborne down to two eminent Victorians, the blind Henry Fawcett ("the Member for India") and the fifth Marquis of Lansdowne. The design allows scope for rather more than skeletal biographies, and for some critical assessments, but not for research in depth. There are a few inconsistencies in the spelling of names; Shakespeare's patron was the third, not the second Earl of Southampton; and the Shakespearian investigator recommended to Leslie Hotson's *Mr W. H.* for light on the enigma of *Willobie his Avisa* will be disappointed to find there only a half-sentence on the subject. But a much graver fault is the presence of eight unprinted pages which disrupt the text of two of the lives.

Wells Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1666-83. 165pp. HMSO. £4.

A gap in the Wells Cathedral records has been filled with this volume. The register of business transacted by the Chapter in the post-Restoration years was missing when the other registers were printed, and its reappearance now enables the Precentor of Wells to calendar it in full. His extensive introduction concludes with a reference to the cathedral library and its borrowing regulations — these latter more stringent than one might have expected for the period, but apparently more honoured in the breach than the observance.

Natural History

BICHARD, JOHN D., and McCLINTOCK, DAVID. *Wild Flowers of the Channel Islands.* Unnumbered pages plus 100 illustrations. Chatto and Windus. £2.50.

The equitable climate of the Channel Islands supports a rich flora gathered from a wide range of countries and habitats. Many plants are native, others have come in the course of trade and travel, inadvertently on ships or clothing, from rubbish tips or as cast-outs from gardens. Topographical changes have influenced distribution, some species have been lost but many others have been added to the flora of different islands. Dunes, open sandy ground and shingle, cliffs as well as banks and hedges enable plants from a moist British or a warm southern clime to grow. A hundred plants of especial interest have been selected and beautifully photographed in colour, mostly by John D. Bichard. These have been arranged by David McClintock and each is accompanied by notes which are a combination of scientific and popular information. There are suggestions for further reading and the book is small enough to carry conveniently.

McCLINTOCK, DAVID. *The Wild Flowers of Guernsey.* 287pp. Collins. £4.75.

David McLintock's extensive knowledge of Guernsey, together with "much expert assistance" has resulted in a book on wild flowers with a difference, aiming to interest and stimulate a wide variety of people. Ferns and Gymnosperms are included as well as Flowering Plants. The early chapters give an appreciative account of the beauty and variety of the flora and the history of the discoveries of earlier naturalists as well as a plea for conservation. In the main text there is an account of the incidence, distribution and records of some 1,340 species as well as information on large clones of importance including bramble, rose and daffodil. The rich flora has developed from many sources and flourished in the mild climate with very varied habitats on the shores and inland. On the whole it shows more affinity with Normandy and Brittany than with Britain. There is a record of the distribution of each species in the other islands of the archipelago and there are notes on species recorded for other islands but not yet for Guernsey. A number of line drawings embellish the text, a bibliography suggests further reading and an appendix lists sources of data on other features of Guernsey's Natural History.

Travel and Topography

ANSON, PETER F. *Mariners of Brittany.* 218pp. Dent. £5.75.

Brittany has a wild, indented coast, dotted with neolithic stones, circled by ports whose names recall past wars at sea. It is being ruined by mushroom growths of weekend villas; fishing boats go out from fewer villages, though Roscoff still sends us its onion-sellers as it did in the sixteenth century. Peter Anson's book, reprinted from between the wars, will appeal to those who knew Brittany of that time, who love boats or fishing, or who have been captivated, even now, by the atmosphere that remains.

Wine and Food

DURAC, JACK. *A Matter of Taste.* 249pp. André Deutsch. £3.50.

Designed for American wine amateurs the origin of this rather solid work is the zest for learning and wine identification commoner across the Atlantic than here; and of the unfamiliarity with some European wines which are less readily available over there. So Jack Durac amplifies a highly detailed guide to wine tasting, completed in seventy-one tasting practices, with descriptions of the various wines, their style and origin. The progress of each tasting is outlined in detail and a model tasting chart of formidable complexity is provided. However, he concludes that for the uninitiated each tasting should consist of no more than three or four wines, and this severely restricts the choice and interest of each exercise.

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BRITISH LIBRARY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE
(LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS)

APPLICATIONS are invited for a POST of SENIOR LIBRARY ASSISTANT, to be in charge of book ordering and accessioning processes and maintenance of associated records, in the Acquisitions Department. The person appointed will have the assistance of two junior staff. Library experience essential; professional qualifications an advantage. A degree is not required. Salary on scale £2,301 to £2,856 plus £390 London allowance; four weeks' annual leave; normal hours, 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m.; some evening duties (compensated) and 10 Saturdays per year.

Applications with curriculum vitae and names of two referees, within one week of the appearance of this advertisement, to be sent to the Librarian, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London WC2A 2AE.

INSTITUTION OF GAS ENGINEERS

Requires LIBRARY ASSISTANT. Capable shorthand or Audio Typist. Commencing salary £2,400 per annum, L.V.s.

Apply in writing to Secretary, 17 Grosvenor Crescent, London SW1X 7ES.

HUMBERSIDE COUNTY COUNCIL
LEISURE SERVICES DEPARTMENT
PROFESSIONAL LIBRARIAN
(Ref. 93)
£2,127 to £3,702 (AP1/4)

To act as Lending Librarian/Reader's Adviser in the Goole Library, with particular responsibility for the Local History collection. Experience of reader service and a good knowledge of books essential. Familiarity with the problems of local history material desirable.

PROFESSIONAL LIBRARIAN
(Ref. 94)
£2,127 to £3,702 (AP1/4)

To take charge of a busy mobile library, based in Beverley with some associated duties. A keen interest in books and readers and ability to get on well with all types of people essential. Experience in reader service desirable. Five day, 37 hour week, with one early evening duty.

Application forms obtainable from and returnable to the Leisure Services Department, 10 Lord Roberts Road, Beverley, N. Humberside. Closing date for applications 27 October, 1975.

ASSISTANT Librarian (Readers' Services) required to take charge of busy issue desk, supervising junior staff routines, inter-library loans and reference work in postgraduate medical school. Minimum qualification Part II Library Association examinations; A.L.A. preferred. Salary in scale £2,301-£2,856 plus a London Weighting of £390. Starting pay according to age and relevant experience. 4 weeks' annual holidays; social and sporting amenities. Apply by 1st November in own handwriting to: The Librarian, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street (Gower Street), London WC1E 7HT.

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE
(Part-time)

APPLICATIONS are invited for this POST, to carry out a British Library-sponsored survey of the provision of management training in librarianship. Inclusive salary within scale £3,850 to £4,950 per annum.

Further details from the Secretary, Library Association, 7 Ridgmount Street, London WC1E 7AE.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN required to assist with original cataloguing of monographs and with editing of cataloguing data. Some other duties. Hours 9.0 a.m.-5.30 p.m., Mon.-Fri. Commencing salary £2,300 p.a.—Applications (with full curriculum vitae) to Miss C. Mason, Shared Cataloguing Center, B. F. Stevens & Brown Ltd., 11 Beaumont Mews, London, W.1.

MOTHERWELL DISTRICT COUNCIL

APPLICATIONS are invited for the following POSTS:
DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARIES
PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN
(£3,957-£4,305)
LIBRARIANS
(£3,474-£3,846)
LIBRARIANS
(£2,982-£3,282)

The above posts are unrestricted, but preference will be given to serving Local Government Officers. Applicants for all the above posts should have appropriate qualifications.

Forms of application may be obtained from the Chief Management Services Officer to whom they should be returned by 24th October. Frederick C. Marks, Chief Executive, Civic Centre, Motherwell, 1975.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
SCHOOL LIBRARIAN

A CHARTERED LIBRARIAN is required for the above POST at the Valley Comprehensive School, Baulk Lane, Worksop, Notts. The salary will be within the range £2,982 to £3,702 per annum.

Assistance will be given with the expenses incurred in moving house in accordance with the authority's scheme.

For further details write to the Director of Education, County Hall, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 7QP, or telephone Nottingham 863366, Extension 702. Applications should be sent direct to the Headmaster at the school. Closing date 31st October, 1975. Please quote Ref. 135.

LITERARY

the Poet's Yearbook 1976

A comprehensive survey of present-day poetry activities in Great Britain and Ireland.

★ 844 works of poetry first published during the year ended June 30, 1975 ★ 250 books about poetry and poets ★ 146 poetry magazines and 71 others which publish poetry ★ 137 honours and awards, literary fellowships, etc ★ 101 local poetry groups ★ many other features, including notes on patronage and articles on "The selection of markets" and "The submission of manuscripts" ★

152pp £1.95 plus 30p postage from POET'S YEARBOOKS LTD., 1 Herbert Road, London N11.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

HM CUSTOMS & EXCISE LIBRARY SERVICES

Classifier/ Cataloguer

A short-term vacancy (up to 12 months) exists in the Department's Headquarters Library for a qualified Librarian preferably with experience of the Dewey Decimal Classification.

Duties will involve re-classifying and cataloguing the Library's existing stock, making modifications to meet special needs, and the application of a new Computer Cataloguing System. Five-day week. Salary £2,805 p.a. (including London Weighting). Starting salary may be above the minimum according to qualifications and experience.

For an application form and further details, write or telephone the Personnel Officer, HM Customs & Excise, Room 605, King's Beam House, Mark Lane, London EC3R 7HE (Tel. 01-626 1515, extension 3116). Closing date: 7th November, 1975.

UWIST

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Law Library

Salary Scale: £2,778-£5,022 notional, plus threshold £83.52

Requests (quoting Ref. TLS) for details and application forms (returnable by 7 November, 1975) to Personnel Section, UWIST, Cardiff CF1 3NU.

REDDITCH DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Department of Architecture and Planning

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Grade I/III £1,254-£2,859

Required in the Technical Library which also provides an information service to all Corporation staff. Part qualification Librarian Association examination and knowledge of CI/SfB desirable.

The appointment, which is superannuable, is subject to a satisfactory medical report. In appropriate cases, assistance will be given with removal expenses and lodging allowances. The Corporation will be able to assist with housing accommodation.

Applications, stating age, experience and qualifications, together with the names and addresses of two referees, should be submitted by 27th October, 1975, to: THE GENERAL MANAGER, Redditch Development Corporation, 'Holmwood', Plymouth Road, Redditch, Worcs B97 4PD.

VACANT APPOINTMENTS

APPLICATIONS are invited for the appointment of Curator for the Keats-Shelley Memorial House, Rome. The Memorial contains a Library (7,000 vols.) specialising in the English Romantic poets. Knowledge of Italian language and English Romantic poetry required. Appointment would suit older or retired person. Salary £2,500-£3,000. Closing date: 3rd November 1975. Write Box 028, TLS, The Times, WC1X 8EZ.

CATALOGUES

The Cole Library of Early Medicine and Zoology

Catalogue of books, monographs and principal papers Part 2. 1800 to the present day and Supplement to Part 1 by Dr. N. B. Eales

Orders to The Library, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 2AE. Crown quarto, 428 pages, paper covers, £7.50 carriage paid.

A limited number of copies of Part 1 (Books and pamphlets 1472-1800) at £10 each are still available from the Alden Press, Osney Mead, Oxford OX2 0EF.

ISLE OF WIGHT COUNTY COUNCIL

Department of Cultural Services
Director: L. J. Mitchell, B.A., F.L.A.

County Library Service
Schools and Children's Division

Deputy County Schools and Children's Librarian

Salary AP4 £3,366–£3,702

Applicants must be Chartered Librarians preferably experienced within this specialised field. The post offers challenging work in developing an expanding service to nine County Branches and 69 schools, and is housed in shared accommodation with the main Branch Library in Newport. The successful applicant will also have special responsibility for the newly introduced schools mobile library service.

Application form and further details from Personnel Officer, County Hall, Newport (Newport 4031, extension 14).

Closing date: 24 October, 1975.

South Devon Technical College, Torquay

Required as soon as possible:

Assistant Librarian

for a fast-expanding College Library closely associated with the College Resources Centre. Opportunity to develop special interests such as careers, optical coincidence, etc. Excellent opening for recently qualified librarian or chartered librarian wishing to gain academic library experience. Interest in non-book materials would be an asset.

Salary AP3: £2,922 to £3,282 p.a.

Full details and application form (returnable within 14 days) from the Principal.

DEVON

Divisional Children's Librarian

North Cotswolds
Based at Moreton-in-Marsh

A.P. 3/4 up to £3,702 removal expenses and car allowance

The successful candidate, who must be a suitably qualified Librarian and able to drive, will be responsible for developing work with children in local Libraries and for supporting the Service to Schools in the Division.

Full details and Application forms (which should be returned within 14 days from the date of advertisement) are available from County Librarian, Shire Hall, Quayside Wing, Gloucester GL1 2HY (stamped addressed envelope required).

Gloucestershire County Council

18th CENTURY LITERATURE

from
Goldesimo Books
2 Rosary Drive
Bridgwater, Somerset
CATALOGUE 7—POETRY
CATALOGUE 8—DRAMA
BOTH OUT SOON

ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT

ASSISTANT ARCHIVIST

AP4/5 (£3,366-£4,095)

Applications are invited for this post on the staff of the County Archives Department which provides a comprehensive archives service throughout the entire metropolitan county. The post is based in North Tyneside and the person appointed will be responsible for a varied range of general archive duties including the processing and use of official and private archives in North Tyneside Metropolitan District.

Applicants should be university graduates with a diploma in archive administration.

Application forms, returnable within two weeks of the appearance of this advertisement, may be obtained from the County Archivist, Archives Department, Tyne and Wear County Council, 109 Pilgrim Street, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 6QF.

TYNE AND WEAR COUNTY COUNCIL

PUBLIC & UNIVERSITY

AUSTRALIA
LA TROBE UNIVERSITY
Melbourne
LECTURER IN ART HISTORY

Applicants must have a special interest in one of the following areas: Spanish Art 16th-18th Century; Northern European Art 15th-17th Century; European Architectural History 14th-20th Century. Further information may be obtained from the Chairman, Professor Peter Tomory, in the University.

Salary: $A12,053—7 x $A590—$A16,193.

Further information and application forms are available from the Association of Commonwealth Universities (Appts.), 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, or from the Registrar, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia [illegible] ber, 1975.

LECTURES & MEETINGS

ANTIQUARIAN and out of print books. Booksellers from all over the country show a selection from their stocks at the Provincial Booksellers Monthly Fair at The Kenilworth Hotel, Great Russell Street, London. Open next Monday, 10.00 to 8.00 and Tuesdays 10.00 to 4.00. Don't miss it.

ANNOUNCEMENT

PORTMEIRION 2nd Antiquarian Book Fair, Saturday 25th and Sunday 26th October, 10.30 am to 5.30. Portmeirion, [illegible] 076 [illegible]

Science Museum Library

ASSISTANT KEEPER

. . . to be responsible under the Keeper of the Library for a small staff at South Kensington dealing with electro-mechanical methods of data processing. Duties include assessing the effects of automation processes on library management and planning and implementing any desirable changes. The successful candidate may also assume control of the cataloguing and classification section.

Candidates should normally have a 1st or 2nd Class honours degree, or an equivalent qualification, in science or engineering, or in librarianship. Experience in library automation and systems planning desirable.

Salary: as Assistant Keeper, 1st Class, £4,810-£7,520 or Assistant Keeper, 2nd Class, £2,805-£4,310. Level of appointment and starting salary according to age, qualifications and experience. Non-contributory pension scheme.

For further details and an application form (to be returned by 6 November, 1975) write to Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke, Hants RG21 1JB, or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 68551 (answering service operates outside office hours) or London 01-839 1992 (24-hour answering service). Please quote ref. G(41)382.

WEST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL

LIBRARY SERVICE

Information Librarian

HAYWARDS HEATH

To supervise and maintain reference library and promote information services in the area.

Salary for Chartered Librarians within County Council's Career Grade L2 (£2,922-£3,282 p.a.).

Chartered Librarians preferred, but applications will be considered from those with appropriate experience who have just completed a course at a College of Librarianship.

Application forms and further details from the County Librarian, 1A East Row, Chichester, Sussex, to be returned not later than 3rd November.

LEARNING RESOURCES

1. Technical Services Librarian.
Burnham Scale SL £5,031-£6,417

A Chartered librarian with senior administrative experience and preferably a knowledge of automation, computerisation, information retrieval and SD1 is sought to take charge and substantially develop the library technical services.

NJC Conditions of Service apply to the post.

Further details and application forms from The Bursar, Brighton Polytechnic, Moulsecoomb, Brighton, BN2 4GJ. Tel.: 0273 67304. Closing date 31st October, 1975.

BRIGHTON POLYTECHNIC

IRELAND

County Librarian

LEITRIM CO COUNCIL

Salary: £3,823-£4,816

Essential: (a) Qualification in Library Work.
(b) Experience of Library Work.
(c) Knowledge of Irish.

Age-limits 25-45 years.

Application forms and further particulars from: Secretary, Local Appointments Commission, 1 Lower Grand Canal Street, Dublin 2.

Latest date for receiving completed applications forms 23rd OCTOBER, 1975.

[CLA]SSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the post of

CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN

[at] a salary within the scale £3,474-£3,825, plus 12½% shift allowance. [The] person appointed will be expected to guide and coordinate work [with] young people at the Central and Branch Libraries and to [co-o]perate with schools, playschemes and other organizations through[out] the District.

[Appl]ications, giving details of age, experience and present salary, [sho]uld reach the Chief Librarian, Civic Centre, East Kilbride G74 1AB, [by] Monday, 3rd November, 1975.

[E]ast Kilbride [D]istrict council

W. GORDON McNAY,
Chief Executive.

[R]ADIO TIMES [H]ULTON [PICTU]RE LIBRARY

[R]equires an

[AS]SISTANT

[Resp]onsible to the Librarian [...] Section of the [...] for the storage and [...] of the stock of over [...] negatives.

[...] includes negative in[dex]ing with print orders [...] and the super[vision of] two clerks.

[...] qualifications are a [...] education; organis[ing ability] and experience of [...] staff. Attention to [...], although not [...] of high speed; clear [...]. Ability to work [under] pressure. Library or [...] experience would be [...]

[Sal]ary: £2,385 p.a. [...] upon experience) [...] increments of £114 to [...] (Salary under [...])

[...] telephone immediately [...] form (enclosing [...] envelope and [...] reference 75.G.392 TLS) [...] Department, [...] W1A 1AA. Tel. [...] ext. 4419.

BBC [PUB]LICATIONS

DIRECTORATE OF LEISURE AND RECREATION

Senior Assistant Children's Librarian

AP. 2/3 £2,910–£3,663 inclusive

Postholder will be responsible to one of the Children's Librarians, who supervises a small group of children's libraries. Duties include work with school classes, story sessions, extension activities, display, stock maintenance and assistance to readers. The normal place of work will be a major Branch Library, but some duty will be required at other Branch Libraries from time to time.

Minimum qualification Part I of the Library Association Professional Examination. Nor non-Chartered Librarians, starting salary £2,910, with progression beyond £3,234 dependent on becoming Chartered; transfer to £3,303 immediate on election to Register. Experience of, or qualifications in, working with children desirable.

Application form from Personnel Manager, London Borough of Hammersmith, Hammersmith House (BOC Building), Black's Road W6 9EG (01-748 2077, Ext. 59). Ref: DLR.L.54. Closing date 31st October, 1975.

LONDON BOROUGH OF HAMMERSMITH

Metropolitan Borough of Stockport

[R]ECREATION AND CULTURE DIVISION

[A]SSISTANT LIBRARIAN

[W]EST AREA £2,529-£3,282

[To s]upport the Branch Librarian and be jointly [respon]sible for all aspects of branch provision—[book] selection and control, assistance to readers, [promot]ion of the service, general administration. [Applican]ts should have previous experience in a [...] library, and ALA or equivalent.

[Applic]ation forms from the Chief Personnel Adviser, [Town] Hall, Stockport, SK1 3XE, to be returned by [...] October, 1975. Tel. 061-480 4949, Ext. 122.

BORDERS REGIONAL COUNCIL

[CHIL]DREN'S LIBRARIAN—HAWICK LIBRARY

Amended Salary, £3,474-£3,825

[Applicati]ons are invited for the above post in the Education Department [...] Library Services.

[The pers]on appointed will be responsible for all work with children [and you]ng people including liaison and book supply to local schools. [Applicants] should preferably be Chartered Librarians, but applications [will be] considered from candidates who have passed Part II of the [examin]ations or its equivalent.

[Applicat]ion forms and further particulars may be obtained from the [Director of] Personnel and Management Services, Regional Headquarters, [Newtown] St. Boswells TD6 0SA, with whom applications should be [lodged n]ot later than October 31, 1975.

Telford Your Opportunity

TELFORD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

£2,922-£3,282

The Library serves all departments of the Corporation and the post of Assistant Librarian is now vacant. Applications are invited from persons with a qualification in Librarianship or Information Sciences and with an interest in the work of a special library which includes enquiries, interloans and trade literature, and in addition some acquisition work and cataloguing.

Application forms and further details available from the Secretary, Telford Development Corporation, Priorslee Hall, Telford, Salop, quoting Ref. No. 20/12/19, and returnable by 31st October, 1975.

Royal County of Berkshire

COUNTY LIBRARY SERVICE
SLOUGH DISTRICT

SENIOR ASSISTANT

Applicants should be suitably qualified Librarians able to take particular responsibility for the service given by the urban mobile library and part-time libraries. Salary: Librarians Scale, £2,127-£3,282 Plus Local Weighting of £180 p.a.

Further details and application forms obtainable from District Librarian, Central Library, High Street, Slough SL1 1EA, to whom applications should be sent by 25th October, 1975.

HET NEDERLANDSE MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

vraagt voor de Afdeling Vertalingen

a) ENGELSTALIGE VERTALER

(mnl./vrl.) vac. nr. 5-0945/2597

voor het vertalen in het Engels van hoofdzakelijk Nederlandse teksten over een grote verscheidenheid van onderwerpen.

b) ENGELSTALIGE TERMINOLOOG

(mnl./vrl.) vac. nr. 5-2592/2597

die reeds als terminoloog/lexicograaf of als vertaler werkzaam is geweest en die zal moeten bevorderen dat de Engelse vertalers een juiste en uniforme terminologie gebruiken, enerzijds door, afhankelijk van de onderwerpen waarover de Afdeling in de toekomst naar verwachting zal moeten vertalen, het Nederlands-Engelse termenbestand op die gebieden uit te breiden, vaak in samenwerking met de terminologen voor de andere talen, en anderzijds door de vertalers ad hoc Engelse equivalenten van Nederlandse termen te leveren. Nauwe samenwerking met het Bureau Engels is daarbij geboden; aantoonbare belangstelling voor automatisering van de opslag en levering van termen en kennis van documentatiemethoden strekken tot aanbeveling.

Voor beide functies geldt:

Vereist: universitaire opleiding, een goed gevoel voor alle nuanceringen (zowel in de moedertaal als in het Nederlands), grondige kennis van Nederland, zijn volk, geschiedenis en maatschappelijke structuur; passieve kennis van Frans of Duits is noodzakelijk.

Standplaats: 's-Gravenhage.

Salaris, afhankelijk van leeftijd en ervaring, max. f4307,—per maand.

Schriftelijke sollicitaties, onder het bij de gewenste functie vermelde vac. nr. (in linker bovenhoek van brief en enveloppe en voor elke vacature een afzonderlijke brief) zenden aan de Rijks Psychologische Dienst, Prins Mauritslaan 1 te 's-Gravenhage.

De salarissen zijn exclusief 7,8% vakantie-uitkering.

Secretary in Educational Broadcasting

—Not less than £2,466 TO START

The Independent Broadcasting Authority has a vacancy for a Secretary to work for one of its Education Officers whose job is concerned with promoting educational programmes by liaison with the programme companies, teaching organisations, schools, etc. The work of the Secretary is interesting and varied and should appeal to someone with a background in the educational field. Good secretarial skills (either shorthand or audio) are required and it is essential that the person appointed should be prepared to work as a member of a team.

IBA INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

The post is based in modern offices in the Knightsbridge area; benefits include a staff restaurant; regular 6 monthly pay increases; 4 weeks' holiday a year. Please telephone for an application form to: 01-584 7011 ext. 390 or if you prefer, write to the Establishments Officer, Independent Broadcasting Authority, 70 Brompton Road, London, SW3 1EY.

AUSTRALIA

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The University Library under the leadership of the Librarian, Mr W. D. Richardson, is strengthening its senior management structure by the appointment of Associate Librarians with responsibilities in Administration, Resources, Services and Systems. Applications are now invited from professional librarians with appropriate experience for appointment as:

ASSOCIATE LIBRARIAN
(RESOURCES)

ASSOCIATE LIBRARIAN
(SERVICES)

ASSOCIATE LIBRARIAN
(SYSTEMS)

The Associate Librarian (Resources) will be concerned with resource development including the procurement and bibliographic organisation of library materials. The Associate Librarian (Services) will be concerned with reader services in both the Baillieu Library and branch libraries. The Associate Librarian (Systems) will be responsible for the application of automation to the library.

Together with the University Librarian, the four Associates will comprise a Corporate Planning Group responsible for the planning and development of all services administered by the Library. The present Deputy Librarian will become Associate Librarian (Administration) and Deputy Librarian. Applicants should have demonstrated capacity to contribute creatively to the long-term development of a major research library serving both the teaching and research needs of one of Australia's largest universities. They should be dynamic and forward looking and able to take a wide ranging view of the future information needs of universities and the potential of new technologies to assist in meeting these needs.

Salary in the range $A16,990 to $A20,202.

Further information from the Registrar or the University Librarian.

Applications, which should include the names of three referees, should be addressed to the Registrar, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria, 3052, Australia. Applications close November 30, 1975.